Daily Report

East Europe

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Starova, Kosova Envoy Fault Serb 'Colonizing'

AU1808192395 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1635 GMT 18 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Mr. Iljaz Ramajli, leader of the office of the Republic of Kosova in Albania, was received today by Albanian Deputy Foreign Minister Arian Starova.

The talk focused on the current situation in the Republic of Kosova, which has recently been aggravated by the arrival of a number of Serbian refugees from Croatia whom the Serbian power is attempting to settle in Kosovo with the intent of colonizing Kosova and changing its ethnic composition.

Both sides ascertained that Serbia's latest acts aim to colonize Kosova and will lead to increased tension there, which may escalate to a new conflict in the former Yugoslav areas and include many other countries of the region.

During the meeting, they discussed other issues of mutual interest.

Yugoslav Border Patrol Wounds Albanian Youth

AU1908161795 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1230 GMT 19 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] According to GAZETA SHQIPTARE, a serious incident occurred on the Albanian-Montenegrin border. On 17 August, a Yugoslav border patrol wounded an Albanian youth at about 100 meters deep into the Yugoslav territory. The incident occurred at about 1400 on 17 August. The victim is 26-year-old Bardhok Doda, resident in Murican. The youth's life is out of danger and he is receiving treatment at the Surgery Department of the Shkoder hospital.

A joint commission of the two sides will soon examine the details and responsibilities of this border incident.

'Serious Breakdown' at U.S.-Used Gjader Air Base

AU1908185895 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 19 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] A spokesman for the Defense Ministry reports for the television that at 0850 today, while carrying out exercise flights at Gjader air base, a serious breakdown occurred, accompanied by fire in the engine of the MiG-17 exercise plane that was piloted by Lt. Col. Ismet Zervoi and Major Martin Bregu.

As a result of the pilots' precise actions, the plane landed successfully, although partly damaged, thus avoiding a certain air catastrophe. The firefighters of the U.S team helped to extinguish the fire on the plane.

PDKSh Protests Leader's Detention in Montenegro

AU1908203395 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 19 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Zef Bushati, chairman of the Albanian Christian Democratic Party [PDKSh], recently visited Ulqin. On the sixth day of his stay there, Mr. Bushati was detained by the Montenegrin police for no reason at all. He was sent to its offices, where he was asked about the purpose of his visit to Ulqin, although he had gone there on the basis of all regulations and with all relevant documents. Mr. Bushati was released only after five hours of arrest at the Ulqin police station.

The Christian Democratic Party expresses its protest against this arbitrary and repeated act by the Montenegrin police toward the PDKSh chairman.

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Agreement Signed With Russian Space Agency

AU1808144095 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 18 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Bulgarian and Russian Space Agencies have signed a cooperation agreement in the realm of research and development of space equipment that could be used on earth.

According to the agreement, Bulgarian equipment will be used on board the Mir space station.

After participating in an international competition, the Bulgarian equipment could be selected for use in the biggest Russian-U.S. space project yet—the Alpha station—which will be launched in 1998.

Kozloduy Nuclear Plant's 6th Reactor Reconnected

AU1808185095 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 18 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] At 1406 the 1,000-megawatt sixth reactor of the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant was reconnected to the country's power grid. The reactor was reconnected two days later than originally planned, the Press Center of the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant reports.

The sixth reactor underwent a planned four-month annual overhaul, during which elements of the basic components of the nuclear and conventional parts of the reactor were replaced. The reactor has been recharged with nuclear fuel.

The reactor staff will work an intensified shedule to make up for the delay in the start-up of the reactor, which was originally scheduled for 11 August.

The reactor will function at 50-75 percent of total capacity. It will gradually increase its capacity at the beginning of the autumn in accordance with the country's power needs.

Plant 'Faces Fiasco'

AU2108111495 Sofia STANDART NEWS in Bulgarian 18 Aug 95 p 11

[Article by Vasil Pavlov: "Preparation of Kozloduy for Winter Faces Fiasco"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Several days after the cabinet increased the price of electric power, it was reported that the overhaul of the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant's first reactor has been completed. Some 440 megawatts were connected to the country's power supply system. No one bothered to mention that the overhaul was delayed and that it was only one stage of the annual program.

Indeed, the timetable of the program has been changed twice. The sixth reactor will be connected to the power supply system around 20 August. However, only the specialists in charge of the nuclear power plant's safety and working order know what it means to delay replacing the fuel by almost one month.

According to the same timetable the other 1,000-megawatt reactor—the fifth—must be switched off on 22 August, refueled, and reconnected at the end of November. However, for the time being no one in Kozloduy knows whether the cassettes will arrive on time.

The situation with the third and fourth reactors—the next two reactors to be overhauled—is similar. Switching off 880 megawatts during the winter will cause difficulties in the power supply.

The basic reason for breaking with the timetable is related to the lack of coal for the Varna and Ruse thermoelectric power plants, says Trifon Tsvetkov, director of the Production Activity Department of the National Electricity Company. This forced the first and sixth reactors to function for several additional weeks after the term for switching them off, and for changing their overhaul program.

One should not try to cut corners at a nuclear power plant, Kozma Kuzmanov, director of the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant, says. The noted expert, who recently has been mentioned as eventual chief of the National Electricity Company, means the delay in supplying the fuel, and the ensuing intensive work.

In addition, the claim that we strongly depend on Russia, is exaggerated. The world market for nuclear power plant fuel depends on various circumstances. At present it is favorable for us, because supply exceeds demand. In addition, Russia needs the dollars it receives from us for its cassettes with nuclear fuel.

The refueling of a nuclear reactor costs approximately $10 million per year. Increasing the electric power price was accompanied by a "duel" between the teams of Prof. Ivan Angelov and Kiril Tsochev. Discussing the programs of the "nuclear power adherents" and the "coal supporters" for developing the branch in the next 15-20 years, is in a way an attempt to escape the present reality. Those programs strangely remind us of the instructions issued by the Bulgarian Communist Party congresses, which used to project a bright future.

At the same time, our only nuclear power plant, which, during the winter, supplies 50-60 percent of the electric power we need, is the target of a racket both on the part of Western power lobbies and our native officials.

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At the beginning of August, the U.S. Energy Department dropped the statement that Kozloduy's safety resembles that of Chernobyl. Afterward they issued an apology for this gaffe, but the servile mass media inflated the lie.

Indeed, the hysteria around the nuclear power plant began two years ago and the secrecy game serves as an appropriate smokescreen for politicians and state officials.

For example, the National Electricity Company's published balance for 1994 shows that the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant has produced 16 billion kw/h of electric power, and that, after deducting the prime cost and taking into account the price of 0.90 leva [Lv] per kilowatt, the leva equivalent of the electric power produced by Kozloduy was Lv9 billion. The Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant received Lv700 million for repairs and maintenance in 1994, an amount included in the prime cost, and about Lv300 million for investments.

The calculations indicate that at least Lv8 billion "disappear." Actually, the National Electricity Company redistributes this amount to the detriment of the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant, because state companies and enterprises owe Lv5-6 billion for electricity supplied in 1994. In other words, if it is inadmissible to cut corners at the nuclear power plant, it is indeed a crime to steal from it.

The south Ukrainian nuclear power plant resembles Kozloduy in its capacity and has the same equipment. In addition, the Ukrainians are also purchasing fuel and technology from Russia for U.S. dollars. This is why I asked them to compare the activity of the two nuclear power plants, Mr. Kuzmanov says. It turns out that the Ukrainian power engineers have used about $62 million to produce 8,646 million kw/h, while the Bulgarian power engineers have spent about $50 million to produce 9,200 million kw/h electric power.

The more substantial difference is in the attitude of the Ukrainian Government to the power supply problems. Last year, the electric power price in Ukraine was changed 14 times! By a ministerial decision as of 1 January every nuclear reactor was allocated $400,000 for repairs and maintenance. Four months later, the amount was increased by 50 percent. An additional check showed that the South Ural nuclear power plant has been allocated $23 million for self-development.

Meanwhile, the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant has to rely only on the honest promises of the Bulgarian statesmen. In their dispute, the "nuclear power adherents" and "coal supporters" threatened with new power restrictions. Paradoxically, both teams worked out their projects in silent cabinets. Mr. Kuzmanov said that, regardless of the fact that he spent his life at Kozloduy and Maritsa-East, his opinion has never been solicited. He also said that he does not covet the post of National Electricity Company director. He thinks that it is time to promote young people.

However, the new-old bosses of the power supply system do not think so. It was, again, the voters who suffered from the results of political and economic shady deals. Thus, no one should be surprised if this winter the "discotheque" called Bulgaria again entertains cosmonauts in space.

Situation at Belene Nuclear Plant Site Viewed

AU2108103795 Sofia PARI in Bulgarian 18 Aug 95 p 5

[Article by Lilyana Mircheva: "Some $1.6 Billion Blocked at Belene Nuclear Plant Construction Site"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The construction site of Bulgaria's second nuclear power plant is located some 6 kilometers east of Belene on the bank of an arm of the Danube. The construction site occupies an area of 2,702 decares that can no longer be used for anything else because of the underground installations that have been constructed, and of the preparations that have been made for the construction of such installations.

Many remember the history of the Belene Nuclear Power Plant, which began in 1981 with research and construction activities. The basic construction was conducted during 1987-89. The work was conducted in an intensified manner because the commissioning of the first reactor was planned for 1992. The pace of construction was slowed down at the end of 1989 after the notorious Chernobyl accident and the ensuing public pressure. Later, in 1991, construction was completely stopped, though no official instruction to this effect has ever been issued. So far, some $1.6 billion has been invested in the construction and equipment of the Belene Nuclear Power Plant. After a certain period of silence, during which the fate of the nuclear power plant was completely undecided, the authorities began to conduct conservation activities, which, so far, have cost 600 million leva.

It is painful to visit this megaconstruction site, at which the construction of most of the buildings has almost been completed and the equipment installed. The planned capacity of the Belene Nuclear Power Plant comprises four 1,000-megawatt reactors. If everything had proceeded according to plan, the income from the first two reactors would have financed the construction of the other reactors. The calculations show that 24 million kilowatts of power could have been produced

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daily, and this amount would have been sufficient both for the country's needs and for export. Now we can only dream about the missed profit, if the Belene Nuclear Power Plant had been constructed on time. Although the construction of the Czech Temelin Nuclear Power Plant, which resembles the Belene plant, was stopped for a short while, the construction was completed after conducting certain improvements, and now the plant is undergoing tests. A similar nuclear power plant has also been constructed in Finland. Foreign experts who visit the Belene Nuclear Power Plant site cannot hide their bewilderment at the fact that the construction has been stopped, and at the inability to answer the question why this was actually done.

Nuclear power supply is undoubtedly the best alternative for meeting the growing need for electric power. The experts maintain that the radiation around the thermoelectric power plants and the pollution of the environment are greater. Western experts maintain that, despite the fact that the equipment of the Belene Nuclear Power Plant is already obsolete, the basic components of the equipment are sound. The construction of the first reactor's nuclear unit has been completed up to elevation [kota] points 13 and 20, and the hermetically sealed metal construction zone is almost ready. The reactor's corpus was stored for almost two years at the port in Bratislava, and for this, we had to pay the required fee.

The construction of the diesel generator station has basically been completed. The same applies to the reserve power supply system, the unit for the chemical processing of the water, and the special corpus that provides fuel for processing the heavy radioactive waste. All underground communication facilities in the area of the first reactor, including the warm canals and the pipe system for cooling the reactor bloc, have been completed. The construction-fitting plant, which produces the construction components, reached its planned capacity during the years of intensive construction. The firth, which has already been constructed, is a port that has the greatest capacity in the Balkan peninsula for processing heavy loads. In addition to the two cranes with a lifting capacity of 500 metric tons, in the port there used to be an additional Demag crane with a capacity of 800 metric tons. Now this crane is in the United States and it is unclear whether it will ever be returned to Bulgaria. The complex of administration buildings has also been completed. The preparations for the construction of excellent communication lines to the nuclear power plant, which include a trolley lane, a railroad, and a road have also been completed. A housing complex for 9,000 people has been constructed in Belene. Now the empty apartments serve as a reminder of the sad fact that the city holds first place in Bulgaria in anything related to unemployment. The water supply and sewage systems and two Crosspoint exchanges, which would have maintained telecommunications in the region, have been constructed and conserved. It is hardly necessary to continue this sad list of missed opportunities.

Our engineers recall with nostalgia the time of intensified construction, when they developed Bulgarian technology for installing big reactors in nuclear power plants.

As far as the notorious lack of safety is concerned—only experts in the realm of nuclear construction technologies have the right to express an opinion on this matter. Four independent accident-protection systems have been envisaged in the Belene Nuclear Power Plant design. The plant could sustain the crash of a jet or an earthquake of a magnitude of 7 on the Richter Scale. Protective measures have been envisaged for the case of natural disasters and catastrophes for a period of 10,000 years. Experts from Westinghouse, Siemens, and the Skopje Earthquake Construction Institute have confirmed all data related to the Belene Nuclear Power Plant safety. An inspection of IAEA experts, conducted from 3 to 7 July 1995, ended by concluding, on the basis of the results of another inspection conducted in June 1990, that there are no seismological indicators in Belene that represent a hazard for the construction of the nuclear power plant.

The contradictory statements concerning the fate of the Belene Nuclear Power Plant pose the question of whose design the eventual construction of the power plant will follow. For the time being, it is known that an amount of $2.5 billion will be needed, and that the construction of the plant will perhaps be completed through a concession. Many leading world companies in the sphere of power supply from the United States, Germany, and France have already expressed an interest in participating in the construction. The predominant opinion of our experts is that the construction of the first reactor can be completed with our own resources. It is the members of the 37th National Assembly who will have to decide what is to be done.

Power Company Acting Chiefs Confirmed in Posts

AU1808120095 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 15 Aug 95 pp 1, 7

[FBIS Translated Text] Following personnel changes made yesterday in the management of the National Electricity Company [NEC], Acting Director General Dyanko Dobrev remained as the company's chief executive.

At the meeting of the Committee on Power Supply on 14 August, Deputy Prime Minister Kiril Tsochev

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told the members that the government had decided that Konstantin Rusinov, who has, until now, served as the committee's acting chairman, should be appointed chairman. TRUD announced this appointment on 12 August. Tsochev also presented Rumen Ovcharov, the newly appointed deputy chairman of the Committee on Power Supply, to the committee members.

The collegium of the Committee on Power Supply decided to relieve Bozhan Siromakhov from his post as executive director of the NEC. Two new appointments were made to the NEC Board: Tocor Mikhaylov, manager of the Maritsa-Iztok-2 Thermoelectric Power Plant, and Nikita Nabatov, investment coordinator at the Committee on Power Supply. At yesterday's meeting, Mikhaylov was tipped to become the NEC's next director general.

Dyanko Dobrev received massive support from the country's electric power plants, and this was the main reason for the decision to leave him in this post, sources in the Committee on Power Supply commented. The committee members also noted the good relations that he had developed with the Russian supplier of nuclear fuel to the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant. Dobrev himself and the other members who attended the committee's meeting yesterday declined to comment on it for correspondents. Officially, the NEC chief is now taking two weeks vacation.

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Russia Accuses Prague of Training Chechen Fighters

LD1808162195 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1500 GMT 18 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] An unidentified source from the Russian so-called power-yielding ministries—that is, from the Ministries of Defense, Interior, and Security—today accused the Czech Republic of training Chechen fighters on its territory. Our permanent Moscow correspondent, David Stahlavsky, has more details:

[Begin Stahlavsky recording] According to that source, the retraining of a big group of Chechen fighters is now culminating at a refugee camp in Cerveny Ujezd near Teplice [North Bohemia]. They are said to plan to return to Chechnya via Turkey. According to an INTERFAX report, their training has been financed by the Chechen diaspora in Luxembourg through an unidentified Syrian businessman of Chechen origin.

(Petr Vagner), press attache of the Czech embassy in Moscow, told Czech radio that he did know anything about this and that he had already asked the Czech Foreign Ministry for information. [passage omitted]

The Czech Republic has more or less been the last among the former communist countries not yet accused by Russia of supporting Chechen partisans. [passage omitted] [end recording]

According to the information available to Czech radio at the moment, Chechens have never been trained at the Cerveny Ujezd refugee camp. Neither are they said to have stayed there.

'Patriotic Republican Party' To Merge With ODS

AU2108085695 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 15 Aug 95 pp 1-2

[Article by Martin Hekrdla: "Defectors from Sladek Are Heading Toward the Civic Democratic Party"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Former members of the Association for the Republic-Republican Party of Czechoslovakia [SPR-RSC] who joined the Party of National Democratic Unity [SNDJ] on 11 August because of disagreements with SPR-RSC Chairman Miroslav Sladek and requested that it be renamed Patriotic Republican Party will apparently end up in the Civic Democratic Party [ODS], within the framework of integration of right-wing parties.

In June Klaus's ODS approved an agreement on integration with the Christian Democratic Party [KDS] and the Club of Nonaligned Activists [KAN], which is currently involved in merger negotiations with the SNDJ.

KAN Chairman Emil Dejmek told RUDE PRAVO yesterday that the merger agreement between KAN and the SNDJ is to be signed at a meeting of the KAN Central Council on 16 September. Dejmek expressed astonishment at the prospect of the SNDJ's affiliation with a section of the Republicans. He confirmed, however, that the last SNDJ assembly "quite unequivocally" approved the party's merger with KAN so that the situation for his party "remains the same" and talks on integration will continue.

In conjunction with KAN's integration with the SNDJ, ODS Executive Deputy Chairman Libor Novak expressed apprehension in late June at his party's merger with political entities without knowing their nature. At that time Dejmek rejected the ODS's fears of being "infiltrated" and told RUDE PRAVO that the very conditions for KAN membership "serve as a guarantee for premium quality people and parties."

KAN and the KDS are to implement their integration in the fall. The merger between the ODS and the KDS should then be approved by the two parties' congresses in November. Prior to the start of the campaign for the 1996 parliamentary elections, i.e. probably in April, both KAN and the KDS will disappear from the political map.

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'Exclusive' Kovac Interview After U.S. Visit

AU2008173895 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 17 Aug 95 pp 1-2

[Interview with Slovak President Michal Kovac "prepared by" Julius Gembicky in Bratislava on 16 August: "President Michal Kovac: I Do Not Expect the Pressure on Me To Resign To Increase in the Fall"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Bratislava—Before yesterday's meeting with National Council [NR SR] Chairman I. Gasparovic and Prime Minister V. Meciar, President Michal Kovac granted NARODNA OBRODA an exclusive interview following his visit to the United States. [passage omitted]

[NARODNA OBRODA] Mr. President, will you receive the representatives of the Hungarian political parties soon, so that you can obtain firsthand information on the contents of their meetings in the United States—especially since some of their remarks were strikingly similar to your experiences?

[Kovac] I have criticized the reports from the representatives of the Hungarian political parties in Slovakia that the U.S. Government is prepared to intervene energetically in Slovakia's internal affairs in the fall. I am quite convinced that nothing like that was said in the talks involving the representatives of our Hungarian Coalition. I have been assured several times—including in my talks with President Clinton—that the United States does not intend to interfere in the internal affairs of any country, and not of the Slovak Republic either. It was also confirmed in retrospect that this was a biased interpretation of the talks involving the Hungarian Coalition's representatives and U.S. senators and congressmen. What I reported on is a completely different matter. So: My information and the interpretation of the representatives of the Hungarian parties in Slovakia should not be placed on a par with each other. Incidentally, I only reported on what I heard and on what there was concurrence.

[NARODNA OBRODA] Not much attention was paid to your other meetings in the United States. Who else did you have a chance to meet during your U.S. visit, and what has come out of these meetings for you and our republic?

[Kovac] I am pleased that you asked this question, because at home it sounded as if—and no wonder—the main objective of my visit was that working lunch. The reason I went to the United States was to accept an award bestowed on me by the American Bar Association, which is the largest professional organization in the world. [passage omitted] Moreover, in Chicago, I also met the mayor and representatives of the oldest and largest stock exchange, with whom we also had the opportunity to discuss certain economic issues. The private part of my program was taken up with genial meetings with compatriots—for example, the meeting in the town of Naperville, which was organized by the honorary consul, T. Klimek Ward. I am obliged to L. Danihels, president of the World Congress of Slovaks, for the cordial meetings with compatriots and businessmen in California, Wyoming, and Nevada who are interested in conducting business in Slovakia.

[NARODNA OBRODA] The high point of your visit was a reception by Vice President Al Gore...

[Kovac] This was my third visit to the White House. I have met with President Clinton twice and with Vice President Al Gore twice. I was glad that he praised Slovakia's endeavor to build democracy and to incorporate itself into European structures. He again emphasized that the United States does not intend to interfere in the internal affairs of another country, but that it is very important for our integrative efforts that we deal successfully with the issues of society's transformation, democracy, and the economy based on the principles of a law-governed state. In particular, he emphasized his interest in the ratification of the Slovak-Hungarian treaty. He was pleased that I expressed the hope that the treaty will be ratified this year, either in September or October.

[NARODNA OBRODA] Mr. President, while you were in the United States, the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia Political Board again called on you to resign. Do you intend to give in to this pressure if it is stepped up at the September or October session of parliament or do you intend to continue to resist it?

[Kovac] I do not expect the pressure on me to resign to increase. I assume that we are all interested in ensuring that, at last, we move away from a confrontational policy and concentrate on a policy of cooperation and matter-of-fact dialogue. Incidentally, everything is in our hands. I do not know who or what would be served by stepping up the tension and the attacks on the president and dragging parliament into them. As far as the September parliament session is concerned, I envisage that I will deliver a report on the state of society at it, and I hope no party will take steps that could escalate internal political tension in society.

Meciar Rejects Explanation of Kovac U.S. Visit

LD1808210995 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1630 GMT 18 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] In a special supplement to the main news bulletin Radiozurnal yesterday, we broadcast an interview with President Michal Kovac.

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In connection with the written report regarding his trip to the United States that he handed to the chairman of the parliament and the prime minister on Wednesday [16 August], the president said, among other things: I assume that the prime minister will correct the original view he has based on incomplete information provided by Radiozurnal, and that he might show interest in a closer discussion of these issues. Jarmila Tosecka asked Prime Minister Meciar today:

[Begin recording] [Tosecka] Prime Minister, what will be your reaction to this offer from the president?

[Meciar] The president does not have to give the government any explanations. He has to provide explanations to the parliament. This is again a reversed position, an attempt to drag me into some two-sided controversy of which I am no part. I do not need his explanations. He has to explain all to the National Council of the Slovak Republic.

Three documents are known at present. First, there is the position taken by Michal Kovac, the president of the Slovak Republic: one broadcast by the radio, the other, given in writing to me and [parliament chairman] Gasparovic. The written version is not identical with what the president said on the radio. The discrepancies are quite large—even very large.

The second document is the report by Slovakia's ambassador to the United States [Branislav Lichardus], who took notes at the talks [between President Kovac and U.S. officials on 7 August], which proves matters contrary to what the president said.

The third document is the U.S. Government note addressed to the Slovak Government, which again proves something different from what was heard in the president's radio broadcast: No messages had been sent [by the United States]; no such concerns were expressed. This statement has been delivered in writing.

In view of these three sources, I have no reason to change my view. On the contrary, I think that there are reasons to make this view more rigorous. But it is a matter for the parliament, not for me. I, too, have to accept the authority of the parliament, and I have to respect the fact that not the government and not the president but the parliament is the supreme body of this country, because we have built a democratic parliamentary system. [end recording]

Friday Interviews With Prime Minister Resumed

LD1808223195 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1600 GMT 18 Aug 95

["Regular Friday interview" with Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar by correspondent Jarmila Tosecka; place not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Tosecka] Prime Minister, after a summer vacation break of several weeks we are resuming the tradition of our Friday interviews about topical issues. [passage omitted] I would like to ask you at least the following questions. Commenting on tense relations between the president and the prime minister, President Michal Kovac said, in June of this year: The issue is that Vladimir Meciar and I hold views too widely different on what constitutes democracy, on how power should be exercised under the conditions of democracy, end of quote. In what aspects is your perception of democracy different and how do you, in fact, perceive it?

[Meciar] [Passage omitted] The president's extempore that took place in the United States is neither new, nor unexpected. It is necessary to say that relations between the U.S. Government and the government of the Slovak Republic are good. They were not damaged by what happened there, because their foundations are stronger.

In my view, the negative aspect is to be found in two spheres. To turn the United States, NATO, and European Union bodies into some sort of a new Warsaw Treaty has a harmful influence on our citizens' views and I am very sensitive to this. Therefore, from an objective viewpoint, even those who do not intend to do so are, by putting those states in such shoes, damaging their interests in our country.

The other thing linked to this is that rumors have been launched and are being snowballed into a campaign of propaganda aimed at proving that Slovakia is not democratic, that Slovakia is lagging behind as regards democracy, and so on. This is not true, as we can see from matter-of-fact consultations when we ask about aspects in which other states have progressed further and there are no such spheres.

When the issue of the president and the prime minister is much spoken about, I always dissociate myself from it. I must dissociate myself from it on this occasion as well.

The president's powers are outlined by the Constitution. The president has problems, be it political problems or problems with the parliament. Until now, however, the government has not become involved in these disputes. I

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cannot exclude the possibility that the government might reassess its stance. [passage omitted]

As regards the U.S. document, I think I can say [words indistinct] that it even included a passage about applauding the government. [passage omitted]

[Tosecka] [Passage omitted] The opposition has many objections concerning privatization. The issue at stake is not only the replacement of coupon privatization by bond method but other things as well. I will give an example by quoting Jan Carnogursky [Christian Democratic Movement chairman], who believes that, and I quote: The only link holding the government coalition together is its aim to grab all that can be grabbed and to do it as quickly as possible. [passage omitted] Prime Minister, does the government still remember its program called Clean hands? There is not much talk about this program at present.

[Meciar] First, allow me not to react to remarks made by Deputy Carnogursky.

Of course privatization attracts a lot of attention, as it is a process that is repeated once in many years. It is a process in which the search for fairness is always relative. Privatization is not carried out by the government. It is done by the National Property Fund. Moreover, current legislation exactly defines what will not be privatized and this is in line with our election promises. Economic policy priorities are clearly stated. It is clearly said where the state will retain its responsibilities even after privatization is over—that is, in which companies the state will be able to affect operation so as to prevent their liquidation, unauthorized transfers of profits, and so on. The privatization process is under control. It cannot be said that it is uncontrolled [zivelny] activity.

However, I am pleased to hear that even the opposition admits that what it has been telling foreigners for some six months now is not true. The opposition kept saying that the privatization process is at a standstill, and now, all of a sudden, it is concerned that privatization is too fast. [passage omitted]

[Tosecka] [Passage omitted] Prime Minister, will it be possible to maintain social peace? How much can the government yield to social pressures?

[Meciar] [Passage omitted] When talking about the possibility that the standard of living is currently deteriorating, let us list all the factors. The number of the unemployed is down. Salaries have risen by 16.7 percent. For the first time since 1989, incomes have increased by four percent. Price increases have stopped. Occasionally, prices of a particular type of goods will shoot up, but on the whole, average prices are stable. Price growth is at its minimum. We have reached a situation in which we can increase teachers' wages. We are writing off debts of hospitals, increasing old age pensions, and are planning longer vacations for all people. Other measures are taken with regard to family allowances. For the first time since 1989 we have also achieved positive results in the social sphere. Of course, the situation is not yet totally satisfactory for all, but the process has started and it is continuing.

With regard to trade unions, their rallies are fully legitimate. However, if we were to assess the trade unions' attitude to the government, we could feel somewhat wronged. We carry out our obligations honestly and we respect trade unions as our partner. Therefore, we consider it unfair that the trade unions did not say anything to the previous government that cancelled the general agreement. They did not organize rallies, and kept silent. This is not the case in their attitude toward us. [passage omitted]

The government meets its obligations and will continue to do so. However, there are limits beyond which we cannot go. There are only certain limited funds that can be distributed. We cannot go above this limit, as this will end up harming rather than helping people.

Union Official Warns of More Resolute Policy

AU1808122595 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 17 Aug 95 pp 1, 4

[Interview with KOZ President Alojz Englis by Jan Dulin in Krompachy on 16 August: "The Period of Friendly Pats on the Back Is Over"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Following Tuesday's [15 August] trade union rally at Martin, Alojz Englis, president of the Confederation of Trade Unions [KOZ], yesterday attended a similar event at Krompachy. [passage omitted] After the rally, inspired also by the views and questions of trade union functionaries at grass roots level, we asked Alojz Englis for an interview.

[Dulin] Mr. President, at Krompachy, like elsewhere, the view was heard that the present KOZ activities are coming too late. What do you think?

[Englis] We proceed in accordance with the General Agreement and agreements on social partnership. It was not until 20 June that we received the information that the government did what it did [reference to 20 June cabinet decision to raise bus and railroad fares and scrap discounts for commuters]. In the Council of Economic and Social Accord we agreed to changes in public transport fares on the condition of adequate compensation. [passage omitted] In the end, the government exercised its right, without providing for sufficient compensation.

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It was only after our partner violated agreements that we were able to go into action. The agreements ceased to be binding on us. Acting as a respectable partner, at the beginning of July, we made another attempt at negotiations with the government, but on 6 July we learned from the prime minister that this was not feasible. We are therefore proceeding in line with steps that have been approved by KOZ bodies. [passage omitted]

[Dulin] The current rallies are a more radical form of enforcing the interests of trade union members. Questions are being raised, however, as to the effect of these rallies, and what will happen if they prove to be ineffective and if agreements from the tripartite are violated again.

[Englis] The objective of the rallies is to have people speak out on the problem of compensation. Naturally, they are also a protest against low wages. What matters is that increases that the KOVO [metal workers] trade union enforced in tough negotiations have been lowered by a single government decision. Thus we are also protesting against this lack of reliability. I hope that the partners will accept our arguments. If not, we will avail ourselves of other means, such as are commonly used in Europe, even though this would not be pleasant for either side. If we are not going to be taken seriously, we will make use of all forms of trade union pressure actions. It is as simple as that.

[Dulin] One side is calling for radicalization, while the other talks about the rallies being politically motivated....

[Englis] We sharply dissociate ourselves from this. What we are doing is the normal practice of European trade union federations. We are concerned about the solution to a problem, without regard for the political composition of the government. Not political affiliation, but the approach toward us, the acceptance of our proposals, and the readiness to communicate with us as a partner—those are arguments for us. If someone wants to profit politically from the rallies, we dissociate ourselves from it in principle.

[Dulin] The pressure for a higher price of labor is a qualitatively new element. Do you consider this to be a fundamental issue?

[Englis] To be honest, I have always considered this to be a fundamental issue. In view of the complex transition from planned to market economy, we accepted also other ways of addressing the wage issue. In the process of collective bargaining, we took into account problems in individual companies. But that period is over. We see that our partners, the employers and the government, are dealing with problems in a market-conforming way, from the viewpoint of only their part of the tripartite. We must therefore start behaving as normal trade unionists and deal with all problems, essentially, through pressure on wages. We will insist that any elimination of subsidies be dealt with automatically. Should this not be accepted, we will act resolutely, as trade unionists should. The period of friendly pats on the back and revolutionary euphoria is over. We now have a normal market economy and must therefore behave as representatives of employees in a market economy.

More Hungarian Nursery Schools To Teach Slovak

LD1808202095 Budapest Duna TV in Hungarian 1600 GMT 18 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Contrary to earlier announcements in Bratislava, it emerged this week that numerous ethnic Hungarian nursery schools in Slovakia will be starting the new academic year with bilingual teaching.

[Correspondent Alfred Somogyi, via telephone] In Budapest [Slovak Education Minister] Mrs. Eva Slavkovska spoke of two nursery schools in the district of Levice. Several nursery schools in the districts of Rimavska Sobota, Lucenec, and Velky Krtis have also been placed on the list. According to the education authority, the parents had second thoughts and they are glad that the children will be able to learn in Slovak as well. However, the association of ethnic Hungarian teachers has obtained information to the effect that, for example, in the Lucenec district, the education office is exerting strong pressure on teachers to convince the parents. This applies not just to nursery schools but to general schools as well.

Let me point out here that all that is needed is five people to make the request, and the so-called alternative class can be launched in which the children will naturally be in the care of a nursery school teacher of Slovak nationality. The ethnic Hungarian teacher will stay there, for pedagogical and psychological reasons, said the official of one of the education offices in reply to my question.

The Hungarian Civic Party was the first to protest about the events. Their statement today says that under the pretense that is the parents' wish, deliberate Slovakization is starting up in what have been, until now, Hungarian nursery schools and schools in Slovakia. It seems that those who predicted that there would be another strong movement urging the introduction of alternative education at the end of August were right.

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Census Shows 300,000 Romanies at Most in SR

AU1808122495 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 17 Aug 95 p 3

[TASR report: "The Number of Romanies in the Country"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—According to migration counts, there were 83,988 Romanies in the Slovak Republic [SR] at the end of last year, and they represented 1.57 percent of the population of Slovakia. This is included in a release provided by the Slovak Statistical Office yesterday. According to the results of census of people, houses, and apartments, 75,802 people claimed Romany nationality on 3 March 1991. All the other estimates of the number of Romanies are based on the registers of Romanies at the former National Committees, where Romanies were registered as socially dependent citizens. It was approximately 254,000 people in 1989. "If we accepted the thesis of veracity of the evidence of the number of Romanies in 1989, and applied the demographic conduct of the Romany component of the Slovak population, there should be at the most 300,000 Romanies in Slovakia in 1995," the Statistical Office release reads.

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Vojvodina Hungarians Hope for Help From Budapest

AU1808182395 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 18 Aug 95 p 2

[Correspondent's report: "The VMDK Hopes for Help From Budapest"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Andras Agoston, chairman of the Democratic Union of Vojvodina Hungarians [VMDK], would like to see responsible Hungarian politicians declare their expectations from Belgrade, namely, that the settling of refugees in Vojvodina should not change the ethnic composition of the population in this region. NEPSZABADSAG has learned from diplomatic sources that, at the talks held in the Hungarian Foreign Ministry in Budapest on 16 August, Agoston described the tense situation in Vojvodina. He asked the Hungarian Government to inform international organizations about the ethnic tension caused by the massive influx of Krajina Serbs to this region.

We learned that Andras Agoston also asked the Hungarian Red Cross to provide rapid assistance to the Krajina refugees. He told us that the Serbian Socialist Party is calling upon the population to help the refugees, and the party asked that a list of empty houses be prepared in order to settle refugees here. The VMDK does not want to participate in this action, Agoston pointed out and stressed that, before the meeting with the representatives of the Association of Vojvodina Hungarians [VMSZ] scheduled for 21 August, it is still not clear whether the VMSZ is ready to cooperate with the Serb Government in its drive to prepare a list of empty houses.

Budapest Ready for 1,000 More Yugoslav Refugees

LD1908185295 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1800 GMT 19 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Hungary is ready to receive a further 1,000 refugees from former Yugoslavia, it was announced by Bela Jungbert, the director general of the Office for Refugee Affairs and Migration. Jungbert said that the UN High Commissioner for Refugees had asked Hungary to provide additional places. At the same time, he added that the Hungarian announcement is a formality, since in the past weeks, a great deal more than 1,000 refugees arrived here from the former Yugoslavia crisis zone.

Mine Explodes on Croatian-Hungarian Border

LD1808162795 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1100 GMT 18 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] New mines have been laid close to the Hungarian border in east Slavonia and one of them exploded this morning. The Hungarian radio's information was confirmed by the Pecs Border Guard Directorate. They said it is very dangerous to go near the southern border stretch. It is not known why the mine exploded, maybe an animal stumbled over it. In line with the tightened guarding of the southern areas, checking at the Dravaszabolcs border crossing point is more thorough now. Today ammunition and a Parabellum pistol were found in a car.

Horn Confirms Nagy as Deputy Minister Candidate

LD2108100595 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0500 GMT 21 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Prime Minister Gyula Horn has confirmed that Sandor Nagy [chairman of the National Federation of Hungarian Trade Unions] is one of the candidates for the post of deputy prime minister for economic affairs.

Sandor Csintalan, deputy chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Party, told our correspondent that the party is united in its support for the creation of the deputy prime minister post.

As regards the nomination of Sandor Nagy, it can cause problems within the party and with the Alliance of Free Democrats, although Csintalan himself supports Sandor Nagy.

Pozsgay To Start New Movement for National Unity

AU1808121095 Budapest UJ MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 17 Aug 95 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Imre Pozsgay, chairman of the National Democratic Federation, by David Megyeri in Lakitelek on 16 August: "The Crisis Can Be Managed Through National Unity"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Movement for Hungarian Unity will be launched in Cegled this weekend. Nothing is yet known about the organization's specific goals, nor is it clear how far they will cooperate with the Independent Smallholders' Party [FKGP]. We asked Imre Pozsgay, chairman of the National Democratic Federation [NDSZ] to clarify. Imre Pozsgay was a guest at the education forum organized by the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] at Lakitelek on 16 August.

[Megyeri] What determines participation in this movement?

[Pozsgay] We are clearly organizing ourselves as a social movement, and not as a party alliance. There is one thing that can determine participation in this movement, namely, whether the citizen, civil organization, or party wishing to participate in our work accepts that national

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efforts and striving to fully develop democracy are compatible. We are convinced that the fate of all Hungarians depends on this. The crisis of a country in trouble can always be managed on the basis of national unity. We are a public movement, therefore, and we start from the fact that only a small percentage of citizens participate in party politics, but an increasing number of citizens would like to participate in political life and assert their interests. Our movement gives the the opportunity to build direct democracy. Therefore, we expect all those people who do not want to participate in party politics for one reason or another, but, nevertheless, want to shape politics through their own free will as citizens. It must be clear to everyone that we are different from every parliamentary and other organizations.

[Megyeri] Many people noticed that, while [FKGP Chairman] Jozsef Torgyan only welcomes certain representatives of the political parties represented in parliament into the alliance envisaged by his party, you are considerably more tolerant toward the parliamentary forces, and you mention connection to the national idea as the only viewpoint.

[Pozsgay] We do not entertain hegemonistic ideas. Our direction is different as well. Jozsef Torgyan's words obviously refer to a party alliance in which the FKGP would play a leading role. However, in this movement, we only accept the activity and participation of totally equal sides.

[Megyeri] So there are no concrete contacts between your movement and the FKGP movement.

[Pozsgay] We are talking here about two different organizations, and I would like to stress this. I think that the noticeable difference is that the National Alliance is also striving for a parliamentary role, and we are not thinking in such terms.

[Megyeri] Can you envisage future cooperation with the National Alliance?

[Pozsgay] Of course, we do not exclude the possibility of joint thinking, but this depends on further developments and future events. I would point out that, from this viewpoint, we are also open to all the other party organizations. As a public movement, we can only support the political organizations that can present the clearest alternative and program.

[Megyeri] I understand from your words that your movement does not limit its scope to a left or a right political attitude....

[Pozsgay] Indeed, we do not accept these political categories as essential elements for our movement. We think that such a differentiation between left and right has no place in such a movement aimed at assisting all the Hungarians.

[Megyeri] What opportunities do you see for cooperation with the Civic Alliance?

[Pozsgay] I can say the same as in the case of the National Alliance. We are open.

[Megyeri] Many people try to guess what circles are establishing the Movement for Hungarian Unity.

[Pozsgay] This will become clear in Cegled on 19 August. We agreed with the initiators to only make my name public so far.

Changes in Diplomatic Representation Examined

95CH0282A Budapest 168 ORA in Hungarian 6 Jun 95 pp 10-13

[Article by Miklos Ujvari: "The Hungarian Connection—Mosquito Fever in the MFA (Ministry of Foreign Affairs)"]

[FBIS Translated Text] According to a conservative daily paper, Gyula Horn's trip to America may end up in a scandal because the administration called back Balazs Laszlo and Andras Marton, two consuls general (stationed in New York and Los Angeles, respectively). The scandal may be caused by American-Hungarian circles, which do not wish to meet with Gyula Horn because of the political purge that is obviously going on. The American section of the World Federation of Hungarians has already sent a letter to Budapest in this regard.

Geza Jeszenszky himself admitted that although he initially had some concern about allowing journalist Balazs Laszlo to go to New York, the "agile and apt diplomat" surpassed all of his expectations. "His connections with Hungarian organizations and the individual states were better than at any time before," said Jeszenszky. On the other hand, this is precisely Laszlo Kovacs' criticism toward Balazs Laszlo, and this is his justification for calling him back after two years and two months. "Balazs Laszlo is not a delegate of the World Federation of Hungarians; he is a delegate of the Hungarian Government. He is not accredited for Hungarians living in the United States; he is accredited for the U.S. authorities," he said angrily during an interview. Obviously, the present minister of foreign affairs will appoint a financial-economic expert, but there is no word yet on Bem Wharf as to who it will be.

However, there is news about the fate of Andras Marton, the other consul general. It is said that he will settle in the United States. Jeszenszky's justification for sending him to foreign service was that a diplomat in Los

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Angeles needs many roles and many faces. The vicinity of Hollywood, the local business circles and, not the least, local Hungarians make such an aptitude important. Laszlo Kovacs, on the other hand, thinks that Marton was building business relations for personal purposes, without much benefit to the MFA.

Clamorous Farewells

According to the opposition, the recent affairs constitute only the tip of the iceberg and many of the dismissals were results of political considerations. Conversely, the MFA speaks of natural turnover. There is no written regulation concerning the duration of appointments, and it is generally said that appointments usually last from two to six years, four years on the average.

The MFA, under Kovacs, began its work with clamorous farewells. Although dinosaurs the size of Mihaly Kornidesz, Peter Varkonyi, or Erno Lakatos did not stay at foreign missions for the new administration led by the MSZP [Hungarian Socialist Party], a group of eight persons offered their heads almost on a silver plate in 1994. At the time of public surveys that predicted the Boross administration's defeat, Andras Gergely (South Africa), Gyorgy Granasztoi (Belgium, EU, NATO), Bela Javorszky (Finland), Laszlo Deseo (Sweden), Laszlo Pardany (Australia), Laszlo Odor (Switzerland), Bela Szabo (Uruguay), and Akos Engelmayer (Poland) ran on the MDF's [Hungarian Democratic Forum] national list—at the bottom, with the expectation of certain defeat. "This idea came from one of MDF's deputy chairmen of that time. One can make guesses," said Jeszenszky, speaking of the affair. Perhaps these eight persons and their nominators gambled on the impropriety in foreign service of questioning one's political convictions, and if the administration would commit this impropriety, then it would violate certain norms, for which it could be held accountable. This theory is supported by the fact that Granasztoi or Javorszky carried out their jobs to everyone's satisfaction; therefore, their political dismissal could have been considered a scandal.

The game has begun, with Laszlo Kovacs publicly scratching his head, saying that he is not very happy about the ambassadors' role in the MDF. However, most of the persons concerned did not wait for the second half but took their hats and left. However, Akos Engelmayer stayed in Warsaw until the end of the customary four years. In the meantime, the setup also changed on Bem Wharf. Political State Secretary Istvan Szent-Ivanyi of the SZDSZ [Alliance of Free Democrats], and Economic State Secretary Ferenc Somogyi—who came back after a few months—are now working under the MSZP-affiliated minister (who was Gyula Horn's deputy before the changing of the regimes). While Szent-Ivanyi is perhaps the only top leader with a "public political affiliation," Somogyi is a real career diplomat who would never in this world reveal his party ties.

The One Who Quietly Returned

In late 1991 he still represented continuity in the MFA. But the leaders of that time did not find this outstanding but gray personality loyal enough, so Somogyi had to leave the team, together with Imre Szokai and David Meiszter, his two deputy state secretaries. The newspapers of that time reveal that Somogyi was protecting his two deputy state secretaries from restructuring—to no avail. At that time, in 1991-92, Ivan Baba of the MDF won this crowding game by becoming deputy state secretary. Baba, soldier of the losing camp, went, and Somogyi came back to the MFA. According to the present opposition, the old team's devotion and loyalty is demonstrated not only by this, but also by the fact that a few days ago Imre Szokai had been appointed director of AV Rt [State Property Management Corporation] by the MSZP-led administration.

Perhaps Ivan Baba (who is now member of the [Budapest] District XIII Council) is now the most resented person at Bem Wharf. For he published his admonitions in the press under the title "They Are Purging With a Steamroller," invoking curses upon top MFA officials. Baba claims that an MSZP-SZDSZ reestablishment is taking place at the MFA and that there has not been a single dismissal during the past nine months where the successor to a leading post was not a member of the old guard. Geza Jeszenszky, his former boss, has a similar—albeit more temperate—criticism against him. He says that there is a view that anyone who was in nodding acquaintance with him earlier is now a *persona non grata* at the MFA. "A new wave of purge is going on. There is a common view that those who are not old friends—not to say old comrades—are not with us and, therefore, are against us. Few remained from my time; the revenge does not spare secretaries and drivers either," said the former minister of foreign affairs.

Those in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs are reluctant to talk about personnel changes. According to the present diplomats, facts must rebut charges. An (anonymous) leading ministry official called our attention to the fact that the new appointees to leading positions or to foreign service are replacements for the MDF's political appointees on the one hand, and all of them are career diplomats on the other. Some of them earned their degrees in Moscow, at the Institute of International Relations (IMO), which provided them with good professional training. The diplomat's words also revealed that it is not a shame at Bem Wharf—indeed, it is almost a virtue—if one had worked earlier

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across the river, at the MSZMP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] department of foreign affairs. It is an accepted fact today that this [department] was an enlightened and West-oriented workshop in the "odious" [colloquial noun for the former communist regime]. Of course, the MDF era meant a break in foreign affairs careers that were launched during the 1970's and 1980's. Many people simply could not advance, others were "cast" into foreign service, still others hid themselves in the shades of various parties, and many tried their luck in the private sector. (There are examples for all these among the ambassadors nominated by the present administration.) These are the people who have now returned to their profession, said the expert.

Large-Scale Hearings

The MSZP-SZDSZ administration has already appointed 18 of the 107 heads of foreign missions (ambassadors, consuls general). But soon more than a quarter of the leading posts abroad will be filled with new people. Large-scale hearings of ambassadors are going on behind closed doors on the parliament building's main floor. This is what Matyas Eorsi (SZDSZ), chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, said of the twelve nominees for this year: "Undoubtedly, there were some cases during the past months when I, too, was making faces but I think that, all in all, career diplomats are being sent abroad, most of whom had indeed been members of the MSZMP but are veteran experts in foreign affairs."

There is little opposition in the Foreign Affairs Committee, members rather abstain than vote against. It is improper to inquire about the nominee's party affiliation but it has happened that the nominee to the Bern, Switzerland, embassy was asked about his religious preference.

There are three "official" party members among the 18 new appointees. Gabor Hars was considered during the opposition period a frontman of the MSZP but he is also a veteran of foreign affairs; Tamas Freund was a National Assembly representative of the SZDSZ and now begins his diplomatic career in Stuttgart, Germany; Jozsef Bratinka is the "model kid" who, after being defeated at the Szeged elections, gave up his chair of MDF representative for the post of ambassador to the Vatican. Moreover, people usually connect Bela Szombati (he was Arpad Goncz's foreign policy advisor) and Gyorgy Krausz (he was the chief foreign affairs expert at the Budapest City Hall, which was lead by the SZDSZ) specifically to the SZDSZ. But both worked at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs earlier, so they too are returning. Without exception, the thirteen ambassador nominees who had their hearing this year but have not yet been appointed come from the MFA staff. Zsolt Szalay, who originally was a radio journalist, is giving up his post as head of the MFA's Department of the Press and International Information for the post in Zagreb, capital of that war-torn country. But even in this second wave, the MFA does not pay very scrupulous attention to dismissing only those whose four years have passed. This is exemplified in Dr. Istvan Racz's return from Japan after three years. The renowned researcher will probably be replaced by Dr. Zoltan Sudy, who is just coming back from Bangkok. But there is no official explanation for his early return.

And there is no explanation for the complete absence of women among the heads of foreign missions. At present, Hungary is represented abroad by only two women: Klara Meszaros in China and Emoke Sillar in the Philippines—but the embassy in the latter is being closed, together with six other embassies.

No one amongst those who made any statement knows what will happen if the next foreign minister comes from the present opposition.

[Box, p 13]

[The following is a list of] nominees for ambassadors who had a hearing with the Foreign Affairs Committee (all of them work in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs) and of the ambassadors who are returning from their posts (where there are any), including their earlier jobs and professions:

Bogota: *Jozsef Balazs*

Mexico City: *Jozsef Kosarka—Vilmos Kopanyi (MFA)*

Canberra: *Gyorgy Varga—Laszlo Pordany (MDF committee member)*

Kuwait: *Pal Fabian—Geza Fehervari (MFA)*

Seoul: *Ivan Nemeth*

Brasilia: *Gabor Toth—Janos Benyhe (literary man, translator)*

Croatia: *Zsolt Szalay—Gabor Bagi (MFA)*

Kuala Lumpur: *Istvan Debreceni—Sandor Jolsvai (MFA)*

Rome: *Attila Gecse—Laszlo Szorenyi (scientific researcher)*

Oslo: *Arpad Hargitai—Dr. Gabor Nagy (MFA)*

Bangkok: *Andras Szabo—Dr. Zoltan Sudy (MFA)*

Bucharest: *Ferenc Szocs—Erno Rudas (MFA)*

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Izetbegovic Expresses Condolences to U.S.

LD1908184495 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 19 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Shortly before 1900, a high-ranking delegation of Bosnia-Herzegovina led by Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, went to the U.S. Embassy in Sarajevo to express condolences to U.S. Ambassador John Menzies on the death of three members of a U.S. delegation. We have just received a report from our correspondent Dzevad Kucukalic:

[Kucukalic] Shortly before the beginning of this news bulletin, Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina presidency together with Foreign Affairs Minister Muhamed Sacirbegovic, Kasim Trnka, ambassador to the Republic of Croatia, and other officials paid a visit to the U.S. embassy to express condolences to Mr. Holbrooke, Mr. Menzies, General Clark, and others on a serious accident in which Mr. Frasure and his aides lost their lives.

[Begin Izetbegovic recording] I have a very unpleasant duty [word indistinct] to express my condolences on this accident, this tragedy, the death of Mr. Frasure and his aides. It makes me sad to see that in this way noble work and (?dedicated) [words indistinct] was interrupted [passage indistinct]. We are hoping that this tragedy is not going to interrupt [words indistinct]. [end recording]

[Kucukalic] Thanking us for the condolences, Richard Holbrooke said:

[Begin Holbrooke recording, in English superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] This was a traffic accident in which we lost three brilliant colleagues, while two sustained injuries. We are leaving for Washington this evening to brief our government about it. President Clinton has already phoned me, Mr. Menzies, and Gen. Clark, expressing condolences on the death of our colleagues whom he personally knew. We will double our efforts to make the planned peace process succeed. In conclusion, I would like to thank French soldiers, UN representatives, Bosnian soldiers, and your government for help offered to us on this occasion. [end recording]

Izetbegovic Presents 13-Point Peace Plan

AU1808185995 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 18 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] We have just received a statement from the office of the president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, in which President Izetbegovic presents a 13-point program for peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Any peace solution has to be based on the sovereignty and the territorial integrity of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Serbia has to accept the mutual recognition of all the states that emerged after the disintegration of the former Yugoslavia.

The plan of the Contact Group of five countries from July 1994 is for us still valid. We believe that it should also be valid for its authors. From the beginning there existed the possibility of minor modifications to the plan. We still accept that, but the modifications to internal demarcation should not be qualitatively or quantitatively more to our disadvantage than the Contact Group plan.

Any overall peace plan must solve the issue of Sarajevo. After the examples of Srebrenica and Zepa, we are not ready to hand over Sarajevo to be administered by the United Nations.

The issue of Bosnia is an issue of democracy. We recognize that the Serbs have equal rights in Bosnia, but we do not recognize any rights of the Pale regime. That regime based on genocide has to be either militarily defeated or completely isolated. We are prepared to negotiate with the army of the Serb people, which will respect the elementary rights of the non-Serb people in Bosnia-Herzegovina and behave in accordance with the norms of the civilized world. Until that becomes the case, no one in the world has the right to support directly or indirectly the Pale regime, as that would be paramount to supporting genocide.

Since a peace agreement would not at this point allow the integration of Bosnia-Herzegovina by military means, the constitutional organization of Bosnia-Herzegovina cannot contain anything that would obstruct its peaceful integration in future and has to contain everything that would make that integration possible, particularly guarantees of human rights and freedom, including the freedom of movement of people and goods, the right of people to return to their homes, the right to private property, and the obligation to return confiscated or illegally seized property. The international supervision of rights in this regard should be provided.

We do not recognize any referendums carried out on parts of the territory that have been ethnically cleansed and terrorized.

The war criminals have to be prosecuted decisively and this process has to be intensified and pursued more forcefully.

The implementation of the peace plan should be guaranteed by the military forces of the five member countries of the Contact Group. Since the United States is the initiator of the new peace initiative, significant U.S.

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forces should also be involved. The Serb withdrawal to the borders of internal demarcation should be completed within four days from the signing of the peace agreement, under the threat of the use of force.

The border between Bosnia-Herzegovina and Serbia and Montenegro will be effectively closed until the peace plan is fully implemented.

The countries that are signatories will form a special fund for the reconstruction of war-ravaged Bosnia-Herzegovina and will contribute significantly to this fund.

The countries that are signatories will politically and financially support the strengthening of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and do everything to promote relations between the Republic of Croatia and the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina on the basis of equality.

The negotiations on behalf of the Serb side should be conducted by Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic. If the Serbs reject the plan, or accept it but do not implement it, the arms embargo against Bosnia-Herzegovina will be lifted, and other forcible measures will be undertaken against the army of the Pale Serbs, while the sanctions against Serbia will be tightened.

The signatories to the peace agreement will assist Bosnia-Herzegovina in building its defense system in the future. They will also support the membership of Bosnia-Herzegovina in the IMF and the World Bank, and other international organizations of global and regional importance.

The peace agreement should be signed, apart from the sides directly interested, by the representatives of the member countries of the Contact Group and representatives of the OIC [Organization of Islamic Conference], appointed by this organization.

This was a statement from the office of the preident of the Presidency, in which President Izetbegovic presents a program of 12 points [as heard] for peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Sacirbegovic Comments on U.S. Plan, Peace

AU2008204895 Paris AFP in English 2028 GMT 20 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Sarajevo, Aug 20 (AFP)—Bosnian Foreign Minister Muhamed Sacirbegovic complained bitterly about the lack of response to the shelling of the Gorazde safe area Sunday, in a letter to the UN Security Council. [passage omitted]

Sacirbegovic also said Sunday that the death of three top U.S. diplomats involved in the Bosnia peace process would slow it but did not endanger it. Rather, he argued that the largest stumbling block was the unwillingness of Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, who backs Serb separatists here, to recognize Bosnia. "One of the essential elements of the American initiative was three-part mutual recognition. I think it's safe enough to say that we have not reached that commitment from President Milosevic," he added.

But he told Bosnia-Herzegovina television that delay was inevitable after the fatal crash. "These were essential, key people. They were experts," said Sacirbegovic, who was related to one of the dead by marriage.

"Now people who have an adequate knowledge of the situation need to be found. There are certainly such people in Washington but some time will be needed to...brief them on the efforts made so far."

He said that he had met Saturday with "shaken" members of the U.S. delegation, including U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Richard Holbrooke and General Wesley Clark, and would travel to Washington "to try to keep the process going while the American team tried of course to recover and heal its wounds. If we are lucky, if there is a will on the other side to make peace, we still, I think, could have a chance to see peace within the next couple of months," he said.

Before the crash Saturday that claimed the lives of the three Americans, including the architect of the Bosnia peace process, and a 20-year-old French peacekeeper, there had been talk in the Bosnian capital that the war could end as early as September.

"I think this American initiative is starting to go from big strides into small footsteps and we want to find out what those next small footsteps are," he said. "I'm not sure that one can say that what has been seen in Belgrade would necessarily allow us to continue to move full stride."

Provides More Details on Plan

LD2008181095 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 20 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Bosnian Foreign Affairs Minister Muhamed Sacirbegovic has granted an interview to the Bosnia-Herzegovina Radio and Television. The main topic was the current U.S. peace initiative and developments surrounding the protected zone of Gorazde. Seila Bakovic interviewed the foreign minister:

[Begin recording] [Bakovic] The U.S. peace initiative is a political move that recently attracted much attention at home and abroad. However, a lack of the sufficient number of details, i.e. information, on that initiative has led to speculations. Did your meeting with the

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Holbrooke-led U.S. delegation yesterday evening reveal something?

[Sacirbegovic] Yes, a little. But, finally this is still an initiative, i.e. a concrete plan does not yet exist. They did reiterate four or five main points contained in this initiative that you can already guess.

First, they will not at any cost allow any trading with the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Second, they again support the Contact Group plan, which means 51 to 49.

Third, multilateral recognition is demanded between the Republics of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, and the so-called Yugoslavia.

Fourth, they no longer demand that we abandon Gorazde.

Fifth, they speak about constitutional concepts that will enable our state to function as a real state, in order not to reach a situation whereby a state, however it is set up, is prevented from functioning properly.

[Bakovic] The United Nations have announced they will withdraw their forces from Gorazde by the end of September. Did you receive any assurances that NATO air force will defend this protected zone?

[Sacirbegovic] Yes. I have spoken to General Smith and to several main UN officials about this issue. I have to say that we are (?not) pleased. If that was the case all along, why did we need UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] there all this time.

On the other hand, why did not we examine some other options. For instance, I know that many Islamic countries offered their soldiers, but they are saying that the Serb side will not accept that. Why did the international community not accept it earlier when the French were offering?.We do not understand why this situation has arisen, whereby we really do not have a larger international force in Gorazde. I believe it is certainly better if our soldiers and our forces defend Gorazde on their own on the ground, while NATO is providing its defense from air. If UNPROFOR stayed there in the capacity of a force overseeing the situation they could perhaps become hostages.

On the other hand, we received offers from the French and some other Muslim countries for a larger contingent to be deployed in order to provide further defense of Gorazde.

Above all, I can say that the result may not be the most ideal one, but still, as long as a genuine desire exists to defend Gorazde from the air, as was agreed in London a month and a half ago, I think it is quite significant. [end recording]

Political Parties React to U.S. Initiative

LBO: Plan Catastrophic

AU2108154895 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 21 Aug 95

[Report on news conference by the Liberal Bosniak Organization by Samir Huseinovic in Sarajevo on 21 August—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Liberal Bosniak Organization [LBO] believes that the latest U.S. peace initiative is to the detriment of Bosnia and the Bosniak people. It in effect means that the present positions are maintained and the situation resulting from the aggression is legalized. It is also an attempt at halting military operations, and thus saving the aggressor from a complete military and political collapse, Salih Foco said.

All the plans so far, including the plan of the Contact Group, have been based on giving great concessions to the aggressor. The Bosnian side accepted that plan, too, even though it does not really benefit peace in Bosnia as it rewards the Serbs for their crimes and the ethnic cleansing. The only motive for accepting the plan was the suffering of the population and the desire that peace finally be established. The authors of that plan had no intention of implementing it, but rather deserted the safe zones and thus gave further concessions to the aggressors.

The new U.S. initiative seems to have as its goals the legalization of [words indistinct] zones. The U.S. Administration has lost its battle against Senator Dole and is now in a hurry to get any kind of peace, however deceptive, in Bosnia. If the Americans really want to stop the war, Foco stressed, then they have to stop the inflow of men and equipment from Serbia and force Milosevic to recognize Bosnia-Herzegovina. It should not be allowed at any cost that the ethnically cleansed territories should become the majority territories of those who have committed genocide. The return home of the people expelled must be guaranteed. Only under these conditions can this plan become acceptable to the LBO.

Speaking of the plan by President Alija Izetbegovic of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, Salih Foco stressed that the president himself cannot create such plans without having them pass through the Assembly procedure. The plan itself speaks of two entities, Foco said, and the LBO believes that the plan undoubtably leads to the partitioning of Bosnia. The plan also envisages confederal ties between the Federation with Croatia, and the

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other part with the so-called Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] [words indistinct]. The LBO believes that the Bosniak people can only accept a federation of cantons on the entire territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and not the creation of two entities that would lead to the disintegration of Bosnia. In that case we would end up with Serbia on this side of the Drina, and that would be catastrophic for the Bosniaks, LBO deputy chairman Salih Foco said.

MBO: Bosnia Is Bargaining Chip

AU1808154395 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 18 Aug 95

[Report on news conference by the Muslim Bosniak Organization by Samir Huseinovic in Sarajevo on 18 August—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] At the beginning of the news conference Mujo Kafedzic, deputy chairman of the Main Committee of the Muslim Bosniak Organization [MBO], congratulated the members of the Croatian Defense Council on the excellent feat in liberating Drvar. This great military success will accelerate the process of the 5th Corps establishing links with the free territories of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, lift the pressure considerably from the Bihac front, and bring the collapse of the fictitious Serb Republic so much closer.

The conference also addressed the intensified activities by the U.S. Administration, which the MBO believes is a tool in Clinton's dispute with the Senate and the Congress, which adopted the decision to lift the arms embargo on Bosnia-Herzegovina. The trouble is that Bosnia-Herzegovina, its survival and independence, are again the bargaining chip. If one adds to this the constant concessionmaking by the international community toward the source of all this evil, Serbia and Slobodan Milosevic, then it is not hard to predict which direction the new U.S. initiative is taking.

The constant insistence on the mutual recognition between Bosnia-Herzegovina and Serbia is only a diplomatic [word indistinct], which might be attractive if it were not linked to lifting the sanctions against the so-called Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Kafedzic recalled that the sanctions are the only measure that is effective in keeping those who caused this tragedy at the negotiating table. Is this one of the ways of having greater Serbia step out into the international scene?

The MBO believes that it would be good if those who have the answers to these questions were to come out with them in front of our anxious and tired public, which does not see an end to these games. [passage omitted]

Zubak, Bicakcic Agree on Negotiating Team

AU1808194195 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 18 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Federation President Kresimir Zubak, and Edhem Bicakcic, acting member of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, met today in the western [Croatian] part of Mostar.

They discussed several aspects of strengthening the Federation following the Split Declaration and the Jablanica agreements, and steps to be taken to improve the implementation of the Washington and other agreements.

Zubak and Bicakcic analyzed the work of the expert groups, whose formation was envisaged by the Jablanica agreements with the aim of creating the conditions for the functioning of a joint government.

The Federation president and acting member of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency discussed the latest U.S. initiative and agreed in principle to form a joint delegation for negotiations, while respecting the right of both nations to present their special interests in connection with this plan.

Special attention during the talks was given to the problems that obstruct the functioning of the Federation on a daily basis on the ground, the functioning of the banking system, and the unobstructed passage of humanitarian goods. In connection with this, Zubak and Bicakcic met Doug Houston, coordinator of the British humanitarian organization ODA [Overseas Development Agency]. The talks were attended by Finance Minister Neven Tomic.

Sacirbegovic Questions UN Withdrawal From Gorazde

LD1808231095 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2200 GMT 18 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Yesterday [18 August], Muhamed Sacirbegovic, foreign minister of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, sent a sharply worded letter to the president of the UN Security Council in reaction to the latest developments in the sovereign state of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Minister Sacirbegovic first underlined the fact that the government of Bosnia-Herzegovina learned about the UN withdrawal from Gorazde from media reports of the regular UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] news conference and that it found partial consolation in the statement that the NATO protective umbrella is still in force over Gorazde.

However, we have no information about the mechanisms of protection in the new situation and are ask-

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ing you for further clarification. Following consultations with UNPROFOR headquarters in Sarajevo and the UN headquarters in New York, we do not think that the options for improving the protection and guaranteeing the safety of Gorazde have been correctly addressed, Sacirbegovic says in his letter. Finally, if UNPROFOR has no role to play in thwarting and repelling attacks on the Gorazde security zone, we must ask ourselves, what is UNPROFOR for, what is the Rapid Reaction Force [RRF] in Bosnia-Herzegovina, or rather 40,000 soldiers, for. We know that several nations have offered considerabe forces capable of sabotaging any plans to attack Gorazde but we also know that these offers are being constantly rejected, the foreign minister of Bosnia-Herzegovina says in his letter to the UN Security Council in New York.

Minister Sacribegovic then went on to refer to the unfortunate timing of the U.S. initiative and the speculations surrounding the proposals for the future of Gorazde, on the one hand, and the announcement of UNPROFOR's withdrawal from this safe zone, on the other. This can only serve to increase suspicion and create a lack of confidence while the RRF is increasing pressure for its presence in Bosnia-Herzegovina. We wonder why there is no growing pressure to step up its presence in the safe zone of Gorazde, the foreign minister says and goes on to ask in conclusion: What steps should the legitimate authorities of the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina take? In the light of the above, we will carefully examine UNPROFOR's real contribution in Bosnia-Herzegovina and its status. Of course, we reserve the right, under Article 51 of the UN Charter, to take other measures including alternative bilateral arrangements concerning this issue, Muhamed Sacribegovic, foreign minister of Bosnia-Herzegovina, said in his letter to the UN Security Council following a decision by UNPROFOR to abandon the safe zone of Gorazde and leave its 60,000 people at the mercy of potential aggressor attacks.

Accuses UN of 'Blind Eye'

LD2008185795 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 20 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Bosnia-Herzegovina Ministry of Foreign Affairs has forwarded to our newsroom a copy of a letter sent by Foreign Affairs Minister Muhamed Sacirbegovic to the UN Security Council chairman. The letter says:

Your excellency, three children were killed in today's senseless shelling of Gorazde by the Serb aggressor. We are wondering when the United Nations will stop turning a blind eye and what else should happen to make the United Nations and NATO give an adequate response to terrorism. Failure to react can only be characterized as the United Nations abandoning its duties and hampering the realization of the peace initiative which is under way. The secretary general has assured us that the withdrawal of the UN Protection Force from Gorazde will not mean giving up the obligation to protect this town.

Serbs Blockading Withdrawal of Peacekeepers

AU2008133495 Paris AFP in English 1029 GMT 20 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Aug 20 (AFP)—A UN plan to remove peacekeepers from the eastern enclave of Gorazde has run into a literal roadblock: one manned by Bosnian Serbs. Bosnian Serb fighters have blockaded a convoy of Russian trucks bringing out the small amount of UN equipment that was not stolen from the 90 Ukrainian peacekeepers, said UN spokeswoman Myriam Sochacki.

The Russian trucks began trying to leave the enclave on Saturday [19 August] and were still stuck at the first Bosnian Serb roadblock early Sunday. The problem is that Bosnian Serbs are insisting that the Ukrainians take out all the equipment with them that they brought in.

But most of it was stolen in July, with UN spokesman Alexander Ivanko estimating that half was taken by the Bosnian Serb Army and half by the Bosnian Army. "My understanding right now is that they have one rifle and one broken down vehicle," said Ivanko on Saturday. "We have also pointed out to the Bosnian Serb authorities that a huge chunk of the Ukrainian equipment has been stolen by the Bosnian Serb Army so we're really not sure where their issue is."

British troops will be leaving the enclave by mid-September and are unlikely to be replaced. The United Nations has been seeking troops for Gorazde since Britain said it was pulling its 180 troops, officers, and administrative personnel in April but none have been forthcoming.

The United Nations insists that it will be better able to call in airstrikes if the enclave is attacked if it has fewer vulnerable peacekeepers to be taken hostage or accidentally hit. But the Bosnian Government believes that the decision is essentally abandoning Gorazde, perhaps as a form of pressure on Sarajevo to agree to give up the enclave as part of a U.S. peace initiative.

Britain has about 180 troops, officers, and administrative personnel in Gorazde.

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Army, HVO, UN Agree on RRF Deployment

AU1808194595 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 18 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] A working meeting was held today at Tuzla's Dubrave Airport between General [word indistinct] Nikolai, Chief of Staff of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and his aides, and the representatives of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, Brigadier Generals Enver Hadzihasanovic and Mustafa Hajrulahovic, and the representative of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO], Brigadier Vinko Lucic.

The Command of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 2d Corps has issued the following statement in connection with this meeting:

The meeting held at Dubrave Airport was conducted in a very pleasant and constructive atmosphere. The following was agreed after a lengthy meeting: That the current draft agreement be completed on the deployment of the Rapid Reaction Force [RRF] in the theater of operations of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 1st Corps, and the Command of the HVO of Vitez, and that on Monday, 21 August 1995, a meeting be held in Kiseljak between the chiefs of staffs of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 1st Corps, HVO, and the RRF, which will define the plan on the implementation of the agreement on the deployment of the RRF.

The participants in today's working meeting at Dubrave Airport have decided that liaison officers be appointed in [word indistinct] and Zenica, who will work on regulating helicopter flights. It was also agreed that the use of roads in winter conditions for delivering supplies to the Tuzla-Podrinje Canton and UNPROFOR Sector East be defined next week in the Command of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 2d Corps.

At the end of today's meeting between the high-level officers of UNPROFOR, the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, and the HVO, an agreement was reached on solving qualitatively the issue of the Tarcin-Kresevo road by constructing a Hrasnica-Butmir detour, says the statement by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 2d Corps Command.

Karadzic Sends Condolences to Clinton

LD2008160695 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 2329 GMT 19 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 19 Aug (SRNA)—Radovan Karadzic, president of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic, this evening sent a telegram of condolences to U.S. President Bill Clinton over the death of Robert Frasure, his special envoy for former Yugoslavia; Joseph Kruzel, deputy ass. secretary of defense; and Air Force Colonel Samuel Nelson Drew.

In the message to President Clinton and the American people President Karadzic said: "If I may suggest, your aides took an unnecessary risk by choosing the most dangerous route to reach Sarajevo."

President Karadzic suggested to Clinton that his aides use Serb territory in future so they can safely reach their destinations.

Karadzic Meets With UNPROFOR Mission Head

LD2108121095 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1105 GMT 21 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 21 Aug (SRNA)—Radovan Karadzic, president of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic and supreme commander of the Armed Forces, received UN mission head Antoine Pedauye in Pale today.

Their talks, which began shortly before 1200, are also attended by President of the People's Assembly Momcilo Krajisnik and Minister of Foreign Affairs Aleksa Buha.

Before meeting with Karadzic, Pedauye had talks with Nikola Koljevic, vice president of the Serb Republic and chairman of the State Committee for Cooperation with the United Nations, on the humanitarian situation in the Serb Republic with special emphasis on Sarajevo.

Buha on Talks, Peace

LD2108144795 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1106 GMT 21 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 21 Aug (SRNA)—Aleksa Buha, minister of foreign affairs of the Serb Republic, said today that the U.S.-Russian initiative, which has also been endorsed by Germany, is a good opportunity to renew peace talks and to find a political solution to the war in former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

"I think that there is a peace solution that will finally take the Serb side into consideration and will treat the Serb Republic and the Muslim-Croat federation with equality," Buha said following talks today between top Serb Republic officials and Antoine Pedauye, head of the UN mission in former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Buha stressed the first step that the international community should take in seeking a political solution should be to grant equal status to the Muslim-Croat federation and the Serb Republic, i.e. to recognize the sovereign right of the Serb people to self-determination and confederal links between the Serb Republic and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

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According to the Serb Republic foreign minister, the international community is obliged to grant equal status to the Croat-Muslim federation and the Serb Republic on the basis of a statement released from a ministerial meeting of the Contact Group on 2 December last year and a statement by Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

Repeating a statement by his German colleague Klaus Kinkel that the political solution will be painful, Buha said he was hopeful "this pain will not affect the Serbs."

Antoine Pedauye, head of the UN mission in former Bosnia-Herzegovina said that he had spoken with the Serb leaders about the U.S. initiative and some humanitarian issues. "It seems to me that we have obtained agreement from both sides that peace should be arrived at by political means," Pedauye said stressing that there are prospects to open up Sarajevo airport and to influence the restoration of peace by resolving humanitarian issues.

Pedauye was received in Pale by Serb Republic President Radovan Karadzic, Vice President Nikola Koljevic, People's Assembly President Momcilo Krajisnik, and Foreign Minister Aleksa Buha.

Karadzic Views Krajina, Breach With Mladic

AU2008144795 Belgrade TELEGRAF in Serbo-Croatian 16 Aug 95 p 16

[Interview with Radovan Karadzic, president of the Bosnian Serb Republic, by Vladana Stojanovic; place and date not given: "The Serbs Need Legends and for That Reason All of Us Have Made Mladic a Legend. If He Should Become Milosevic's Man, the Winner Would Turn Into a Loser"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "History will reveal all the games and crosscurrents, the political and state destruction of Krajina, as being the largest Serbian defeat since Kosovo," Radovan Karadzic says exclusively for TELEGRAF. He claims that the Serb Republic will eventually come out of the war as victor, while as for his conflict with General Mladic, he reveals to TELEGRAF:

[Karadzic] I am afraid that Krajina was not defended at all. I have gathered enough experience from this long five-year war, in our region it is three years, to know that a hill can be kept and defended for 15 or so days, and that, for instance, Mt. Vozuca, though being almost completely surrounded and attacked by two corps, the Tuzla and the Zenica Corps, has been defended for as long as three and a half years.

Mt. Ozren is teeming with Muslim brigades on all sides, and the only exit out of the area is at Doboj, and still it has been defended for three and a half years. It is not clear to me that Krajina could not possibly have been defended. History will probably reveal soon all the games about Krajina and point to disastrous mistakes that were continuously made from the beginning until today, and particularly from the time when the Vance Plan was adopted for the cessation of war.

By that I particularly refer to "crosscurrents" and the political and state annihilation of Krajina, constant work on destabilization of political circumstances, then also Yugoslavia's opening the doors wide to all the wealthy and educated people from Krajina who readily left their native land and people in pursuit of comfortable life in Serbia, and finally the poor work performed during these four and a half years with regard to the army and people, and poor command at the decisive moment. That would probably be a string of problems that led to the biggest Serbian defeat from the time of Kosovo until today.

[Stojanovic] General Mladic has been rehabilitated after the appeal lodged by Patriarch Pavle, but the question remains: Why did you appoint Mladic special adviser to the chief of the General Staff, that is, your own, which the entire public and Mladic himself understood as his removal?

[Karadzic] I had several reasons for changing the main staff into the General Staff. Main staffs do not exist anywhere in the world, and there are only chiefs of general staffs. [Yugoslav Army's chief Momcilo] Perisic is not the commander of any main staff, but he is chief of the General Staff. Similarly, Shalikashvili is the chief of the U.S. general staff, that is, the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the United States.

Command ought not to be hindered or hampered, or made even more complicated. That was a minor reason for the change. The major reason was the need to unify the command over the two armies, and to defend the region as one. Mladic began his military career in the Knin Krajina, and I had the impression that he would be able to perceive disastrous command behavior, and to change it.

On the other hand, I wanted to shake our army a little and sober up all those who so far have been going along without any punishment for their omissions, and to make each responsible person serious by making it clear to him that he will answer for each mistake, and particularly for possible confused orders like "Retreat!," which were issued in Krajina. Fortunately, our situation is considerably different from that in Krajina, for the situation in the Serb Republic is much more different than in Krajina. Fortunately, while analyzing the differences I have come to the conclusion that in the Serb Republic, in compliance with all the items I stated about Krajina, the circumstances are quite different.

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There were crosscurrents and attempts at destabilizing political and state institutions as well, and also efforts to cause chaos in political life, but we have endured all that, and our political and state leadership is definitely unanimous. It counts some 200 people, who are leading this country as members of the Presidency, the Assembly or the government, or deputies, members of the Main Board of the Serbian Democratic Party [SDS], and distinguished people whom we ask for advice. That is the leadership of this people, and I am very happy that our people do not depend on just one leader, that there does not exist only one single leader, but rather a leadership elected through a democratic procedure. And that leadership is definitely unanimous.

On the other hand, our Army was not resting, like, unfortunately, the Krajina Army was. It is engaged in combat every day, and is made up of experienced fighters who are unaccustomed to respite, and they more readily accept fighting and more easily deal with the enemy in such a way. Of course, the fall of three large municipalities, Kupres, Grahovo, and Glamoc, has caused me concern, and reminded me of the fall of western Slavonia, the rapid evacuation of its citizens, and Army troops tagging after them.

Therefore, with this change I have brought in seriousness and caution among senior officers, and despite my giving up the implementation of those changes, I feel that we have done a good job, because now everybody knows that he will be checked and required to assume responsibility, and that merits will be accompanied with responsibilities and punishments for wrong moves in assessing results.

[Stojanovic] The following events have been stated as main reasons for removing General Mladic: the loss of Kupres and important strategic points at Mt. Dinara, which made Glamoc and Grahovo accessible; then the fall of Knin, whose defense lines were directly commanded by General Mladic; and the fact that Milosevic has sent a letter, an appeal for peace, to General Mladic rather than to you.

[Karadzic] The fall of Kupres earlier, and now of Glamoc and Grahovo, as well as the fall of western Slavonia, is a responsibility of the local commanders to a smaller degree. It was not possible to defend Glamoc and Grahovo with the forces that happened to be there at that moment. Which means that the responsibility does not lie with the commander of the 2d Krajina Corps, General Tomanic, or with the chief of the General Staff, General Milovanovic, because the disproportion was huge.

So, we who are above them, namely the General Staff and supreme command, as well as myself as the supreme commander, are to blame in that we did not bring in enough forces in order to prevent the fall of Glamoc and Grahovo. Given such a huge loss of territory, with such terrible consequences, the fact that the Croats have entered Knin from our side, that is, from the undefended side where the Krajina Army did not have any defense, is not a trifle, and it has to shake seriously our entire Army and our entire state.

As for the Belgrade media's support for Mladic and attempts at making him a partner to our state, I think all that harms him more than it benefits him, and I believe that he himself does not want that. The letter of President Milosevic to Izetbegovic and Mladic is a letter not written by Mladic, and he is not held responsible in that respect, but that letter is very dangerous because it reveals attempts at legitimizing Mladic for the possible signing of a peace plan without his consent or knowledge.

We are a state, rather than a rebel territory, and it is precisely known who does what according to the Constitution and the law, and that letter has certainly harmed Mladic's reputation, because it implies and suggests that he is Milosevic's man.

[Stojanovic] Your conflict with Mladic has been much talked about. What is the basic reason for that conflict, or misunderstanding, at least?

[Karadzic] There is no conflict, because the division of authority is clear. I am the president of the Republic and the only commander of the Army, the supreme commander. General Mladic is the second man in that hierarchy, that is, the operational commander of the Army, or rather the chief of the General Staff. There are, I would not say misunderstandings, but rather mutual criticisms.

We have to perceive weaknesses in command, organization, and leadership of the Army, while the Army staff thinks that the state is not allotting enough means to the Army. We consider those remarks inappropriate because we are under double sanctions, and we are convinced that this government is performing a better job than any other government would, with regard to the fact that we have been almost hermetically isolated for a year.

However, that does not mean that we are in a conflict. That is a dynamic relationship in which demands are made by one side to the other on a daily basis, accompanied with severe comments, criticisms, or remarks, which is quite normal because in a democracy there is no absolute obedience, and such a dynamic relationship may look like a conflict to somebody. But there are no

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conflicts and cannot be any in one state where everyone knows what his sphere of responsibility is.

[Stojanovic] Does the fact that 22 generals have stood up for General Mladic mean that a sort of military coup has been carried out?

[Karadzic] No, none of those generals has called into question the Constitution, the law, the Assembly, the government, the Presidency, the president, or the supreme commandership. They have only expressed the opinion that General Mladic should remain the commander of the General Staff, and that he should further command over the Army. I know all those generals very well.

We did a lot ourselves to make a legend out of Mladic, and we are right in that respect, because the Serbian people need legends. However, all of those generals are very good and their merits are great. Perhaps we did not do enough to inform the public about their merits as well. Their opinion is certainly very important, because they are direct executioners of orders that are conveyed from the supreme commandership over the General Staff to corps.

[Stojanovic] Did those same generals, according to information we have, express support for your decision only a day earlier, in individual talks?

[Karadzic] I did not ask the generals to support my decision, nor am I supposed to do that. My decisions are sovereign, based on the Constitution and law. Of course, I discuss everything else with those generals, and I know their opinions on many things, but I would never discuss things with them in such a way as to ask for their support.

I make my decisions on the basis of many consultations, and then I demand that they be implemented. But I often talk with the generals, all the more because Mladic is often in the field; so when he is not available, then I look for any commander of the corps.

[Stojanovic] People say that there exists a division into Chetniks and Partisans, where you are the leader of the former, while Mladic leads the latter.

[Karadzic] I am not the leader of Chetniks, and we have overcome the division into Chetniks and Partisans. I have to say that some officers frown at the coat of arms of the Nemanjics [Serbian royal family in the Middle Ages] or when seeing a soldier, an intellectual who has been wearing a beard for 20 years already, who is still sitting in trenches for three and a half years. When it happens that some nervous officer orders that intellectual to shave, then it is clear that he has a certain ideological attitude, which the Serbs here have outgrown, and is considered absolutely unacceptable. Of course, all soldiers who hear about such things condemn shaving of their fellow soldiers, engineers, and intellectuals, who have been fighting this war for three and a half years already.

We have here a certain ideological promotion of the leftist forces, but they do not act under their real name, because the people would unanimously reject them. Every one of our soldiers first became a soldier of the territorial defense of the SDS, and as such fought for 45 or 60 days, or even more, without having any active officer in the unit. All of them are people sworn to Serbianhood and fatherland, and nobody can induce our children to adopt leftist ideologies or orientations, although a small number of officers are insisting on their leftist orientation. Of course, that will not bring about the division of people into left and right, but it will certainly poison the soul of some young soldier, who does not necessarily have to recognize immediately that it is about communist propaganda, but when he understands it his anger and rage will be even greater.

It happened to me many times that soldiers address me, pointing to some guest officers responsible for morale or security, who talk about the state or authorities in a negative way. And when we examine their allegations, we discover that they do that thoroughly, eagerly, on a daily basis, and absolutely from leftist positions.

[Stojanovic] Do you see yourself as the losing side in the possible final settlement of the conflict, in view of the general conviction of the public in Serbia, at least, that Milosevic is backing Mladic?

[Karadzic] Mladic should not be Milosevic's man, and I think that he is his man much less than is believed. Mladic's every step away from the state, the state leadership, the head of state and supreme commander, from the prevailing atmosphere of founding a new Serbian state, would make a loser out of him, because it is definitely clear that we shall win, that we shall win our state. Our state will look quite normal, it will have normal borders, it will not be as small as was anticipated, and it will be a real Serbian state. I believe that we shall have much firmer connections with Serbia than is desired by the international community, and finally, I believe that the unification with Serbia, that is, with Yugoslavia, will come about much sooner than is believed. Why would Mladic now change over from the totally secure position of the winner into the position of those who have made wrong assessments and supported wrong things?

[Stojanovic] The media are reporting on Croatia's announcements that it would attack eastern Slavonia. Who will help eastern Slavonia and can it be defended?

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[Karadzic] It was not possible for the Serb Krajina to defend itself alone. In view of the sanctions imposed by the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] and fighting along the entire front line, the Serb Republic was not able to defend the entire Serbianhood. That will remain a tragic moment in the history of the Serbian people, when the entire Serbianhood failed to mobilize all its forces to defend its one part.

Eastern Slavonia must be defended by Yugoslavia as well, just as it should have defended entire Krajina, and just as it should have helped the Serbs there to restore their control over Krajina, because Yugoslavia is the warrantor of the Vance Plan, and it is also the warrantor, by the law of God and humanity, of the protection of Serbs outside Serbia.

[Stojanovic] Will Yugoslavia offer help?

[Karadzic] Nothing is known any more. There are no rules; actions are incomprehensible and make no sense, while the huge media machinery is disseminating unbelievable "truths." The more difficult it is to defend one policy, the more dirt is needed to smear the other. All differences between us are ridiculously small in view of the fact that Krajina has fallen. What few differences we may have used to justify the fall of Krajina and the exodus of Serbs, even if some of us were fascists and the others communists, the defense of Krajina should have unified us.

[Stojanovic] The foreign media are announcing a joint attack by Croatia and Alija's [Izetbegovic] army on Banja Luka. In that case, what are the chances of defending Banja Luka?

[Karadzic] The Serbs make up around 35 percent of the population in former Bosnia-Herzegovina. For three and a half years we have been fighting against the remaining 65 percent, which is the Croatian-Muslim coalition, plus a certain number of troops of the Republic of Croatia who are always present here. We have accomplished most of our goals and the access to the borders of most of our territories, and we are maintaining that strategic balance.

However, when you consider the entire state of 5 million people, with open markets, available war credits, and the army on which it has been working for four and a half years, then the balance is disturbed. For that reason we were not able to defend Krajina. Had there not been sanctions imposed by the FRY, we could have ended this war with a victory much earlier. If the Croatian-Muslim coalition happens to attack us now, plus the Republic of Croatia, we shall defend ourselves and succeed in that for the most part, although it may happen that we lose some areas temporarily, such as Glamoc or Grahovo, but we shall never accept that, and we shall fight until we retake them.

Although we are not sure that the responsible institutions in Yugoslavia will perform their duty, we are convinced that the people, volunteers, as well as our nationals in Serbia, whom some people call deserters, will rush to defend the Serb Republic. Because without the Serb Republic Serbia cannot survive. We are telling them again and again that Serbia is endangered as well, all in vain. Had not the Serb Republic held out, Serbia would have been a country with the most endangered borders in the world. Almost all its borders, save the one toward Romania, are unfriendly, and almost at all those borders there are tensions and various territorial aspirations.

Croatia would want Vojvodina, Subotica, Zemun, Boka Kotorska Bay; Muslim Bosnia would want Sandzak; Albania would want Kosovo; and in the end even Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] might claim some of our territories. Which is to say, we are fully convinced that we are defending the entire Serbianhood, and we only want, if nobody wants to help us, that nobody hampers our efforts.

[Stojanovic] A new division of Bosnia is being spoken of, which anticipates an exchange of territories and cities, say, Banja Luka for Tuzla. Some newspapers have even brought out the map drawn by Tudjman, which shows Banja Luka as part of Croatia.

[Karadzic] That is out of the question. Such maps are nonsense, but it is certain that some other, more realistic maps do exist, which will be harmonized with the factual state. I believe that, if we succeed in defending what we have, we shall keep most of it.

[Stojanovic] Are you acquainted with the new peace initiative launched from one side by the United States, and from the other side by Russia?

[Karadzic] I do not have any direct diplomatic information on that, so I know only what can be heard in the media. The international community will show that this has been its own war. It started the war because of its own interests, it has been prolonging it, and it may terminate it, again because of its own interests. If somebody in the United States who makes decisions really cares to see the end of the war, it will be ended in several weeks. If he cares to prolong it, he will prolong it, and the easiest way of doing that is to put forward proposals unacceptable for the Serbs.

[Stojanovic] If the rumored plans on the division of territory happen to be acceptable, can it be predicted that the time of peace in this region is coming?

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[Karadzic] I believe that the activities concerning the coming conference will be over perhaps by the end of this month, and I expect that September may, perhaps, be the month in which a peace agreement could be signed, if what certain governments are talking about is true. But we can never be certain whether they are trying to dupe us or whether they are serious about it. In any case we are behaving, and we have to behave, as if the war will last for years, whereas we are ready to make peace right away.

[Stojanovic] A question that is not about the recent events: Who ordered General Milovanovic to halt during last year's attack on Bihac, and was it a mistake?

[Karadzic] Politics have never halted our Army, unless there was a good reason for that, which suited our interests. In order to destabilize our republic, they are spreading rumors that our state leadership halted that action. Stories are being spread that somebody from Belgrade did that through Mladic, that Milovanovic tore his rank insignia off his shirt. I do not believe in that, because I believe they would have informed me. Second, I do not believe that they would accept anybody's suggestion that the 5th Corps should be spared, and in such a way to change the course of the war.

[Stojanovic] Clinton justifies the beginning of the Croatian offensive against the Republic of Serb Krajina by the attack on Zepa and Srebrenica that, among other things, was carried out in order to disengage the troops that held these towns in encirclement. On the other hand, some assessments say that the number of those troops is insignificant in comparison with the consequences ascribed to that offensive. Who ordered this offensive?

[Karadzic] I cannot reveal too much, but directives are occasionally issued by the supreme commander, directives which include all actions that will be taken in the following period. The enclaves are protected in order to make it possible for the Muslims to break through in our territory. If it had not been so, those enclaves would have certainly been demilitarized, according to international military law.

I approved the order both to the General Staff and directly even to General Krstic, and I was very satisfied with the speed at which he took Srebrenica.

As for Zepa, we had more troubles there, even though there were only 1,200 armed Muslim soldiers. However, that was not in any way the reason for Croatia's attacking Krajina, or Grahovo, or Glamoc. One would be naive to think that some actions of ours may induce the Croats to change the plan they have devised earlier. Croatia has never said it would not attack Krajina. On the contrary, it was repeating all the time that, if the peaceful reintegration failed to come, it would be taken militarily. Such interpretations are miserable, indeed.

Krajina has fallen because Croatia was able to take it, while Serbianhood was not able to defend it.

RS Will Not Share RSK's Fate

LD1808201795 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1835 GMT 18 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Bijeljina, 18 Aug (SRNA)—Radovan Karadzic, the president of the Serb Republic [RS] and supreme commander of the Armed Forces, said in Bijeljina today that the fate of the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] could not befall the Serb Republic.

Speaking to members of the Bijeljina municipal war presidency, deputies, and military officials, Karadzic stressed that the fall of the Republic of Serb Krajina was caused by political disunity, lately present in the Krajina leadership.

"The situation at the political and military levels is now good and the municipal war presidencies have completely fulfilled their role," the Serb Republic president said.

It has been noticed for the first time that the international community wished the war to end, the president said, and added: "We wish and try to realize a compact state, access to the sea, and a wide corridor, and that Drina becomes our river."

Krajisnik: U.S. Plan Grants Serbs Access to Sea

AU1808181595 Banja Luka Srpski Radio Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 17 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The international blockade of the Serb Republic [Serb-held entity in Bosnia-Herzegovina] is slowly being lifted. Namely, Momcilo Krajisnik, chairman of the Serb Republic Assembly, stated that the latest international community's proposals, to which he was introduced in Geneva, make it possible for the Serb side to achieve most of its known demands.

The latest international community's proposals make it possible for the Serbs to exercise the right to a compact territory with a broad communication with the eastern and western part of the republic, without enclaves, and with access to the sea, explained Mr. Krajisnik in an interview with Banja Luka GLAS SRPSKI. According to Krajisnik, the international mediators have tacitly acknowledged Serb suggestions that percentages should not be the stumbling block, and that, in demarcation, the existence of two states, the Serb Republic and the

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Croat-Muslim [Bosnia-Herzegovina] Federation, should be the most important issue to be taken into account.

The present peace initiative brings out more optimism that we will reach a just solution, but with the main precondition that the Serbs must defend their state, emphasized Krajisnik, and added that the factual situation will have a crucial impact on the demarcation. We must use the situation we are in to end the war successfully, as well as to defend ourselves from the influence of enemy propaganda and the divisions launched by the circles that caused disunity in the Republic of Serb Krajina.

In the interview, chairman Krajisnik appealed to the people of Krajina to summon up the strength to prevent any attempt at creating disunty and to defend the western borders of the Serb Republic.

Krajisnik Reacts to Izetbegovic Peace Proposal

LD1908204795 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1535 GMT 19 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 19 Aug (SRNA)—Momcilo Krajisnik, president of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic's People's Assembly, said today that Muslim leader Alija Izetbegovic's plan outlining conditions for the acceptance of the American initiative for solving the Bosnia-Herzegovina crisis is good, by virtue of the fact that it has been proposed.

"This is a good approach to solving the crisis: Mr. Izetbegovic sets out his conditions, we put forward our response and our criteria, and then we can hold talks on these two approaches," Krajisnik told SRNA.

The president of the Serb Republic Assembly said that Izetbegovic's proposal is "much better" than what the Serb side had hoped for because "we could not expect the enemy to propose anything resembling equality between the Croat-Muslim federation and the Serb Republic."

"It is bad that Mr. Izetbegovic overestimated his role and assumed the role of the state leader and patron of the whole of former Bosnia-Herzegovina, which was the main mistake and the cause of the war," Krajisnik said. He described as fully acceptable the points from the Muslim plan referring to the need to solve the status of Sarajevo, in view of the fact that this has been one of the main obstacles to peace, and to the setting up of a fund for the reconstruction of former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Speaking about other points from Izetbegovic's proposal, Krajisnik stressed that the demands for former Bosnia-Herzegovina to remain within the communist borders and for Belgrade to recognize Bosnia as a state, is no more than utopia, because the whole war was waged because the Muslims demanded the secession of Bosnia-Herzegovina from Yugoslavia.

"No one has the right to recognize former Bosnia-Herzegovina until the nations living in it recognize it. Such a proposal cannot contribute to the solution," Krajisnik said. He went on to say that "It would not be a problem for the Serbian president to negotiate on behalf of the Serb Republic if this were not an attempt to place the Serbs in the Serb Republic in an unequal position and give them a role of rebel citizens of an independent Bosnia-Herzegovina."

Assessing the military defeat of the Republic of Serb Krajina forces, Krajisnik said that "the fall of the Republic of Serb Krajina is the biggest humiliation for all Serbs. Knin fell because of the fall of part of the Serb Republic, i.e., the Grahovo-Glamoc front, in an unsynchronized action of the joint command in the Mount Dinara area."

In his opinion, Knin also fell because the Republic of Serb Krajina was politically and militarily "destroyed, both within and without."

"The split (between the political and military leaderships) and the power struggle created a feeling of total insecurity among the people in the Republic of Serb Krajina. The Republic of Serb Krajina military leadership cannot find any justification for this defeat."

Yugoslavia, especially Serbia, Krajisnik said, "made a big mistake by announcing at the start of the Croatian aggression that it would not interfere militarily in the conflict, which encouraged the enemy and completely demoralized the people in the Republic of Serb Krajina."

"Yugoslavia should not have done it," he stressed. Speaking about his meetings in Geneva with EU peace mediator Carl Bildt. Krajisnik said they "encouraged the Serb side."

Rejects Recognition by Belgrade

LD1808192595 Belgrade BETA in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 18 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Pale, 18 Aug (SRNA-BETA)—Momcilo Krajisnik, president of the Serb Republic Assembly, today said that the Bosnian Serb authorities would not accept a possible decision by Belgrade on the recognition of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

He told BETA agency that if a decision to recognize Bosnia-Herzegovina is made after the current talks between the Belgrade authorities and the EU representatives, the Bosnian Serbs would not accept it. "Bosnia is not a state and any recognition of it would be dangerous, since it would eliminate the Serb Republic as

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a state," said Krajisnik. "I think it will not happen and only its own peoples, Serbs, Muslims, and Croats have the right to recognize it," he added.

Krajisnik said that the talks he had in Geneva over the past several days with representatives of the international community "instilled optimism," but he refused to specify with whom he had met. His collocutors "showed understanding" for questions that interested the Serb side, he said. "This particularly refers to our desire for a compact territory, a wide belt in Posavina instead of the corridor, and to the request that two states that have a chance of survival should be developed in Bosnia," said Krajisnik.

"This implies that the enclaves should not be widened but instead replaced by certain territories inside Bosnia, and that the two states should be given equal treatment," he said and added that the development of the Serb Republic and the Muslim-Croat Federation should run parallel. "Stubborn insistence on the acceptance of the Contact Group's plan is no longer the case, which indicates that this past year, during which it was insisted on the plan, was wasted," he said.

The president of the Bosnian Serb Assembly said "he was deeply dissatisfied with yesterday's statement by the General Staff of the Serb forces in which the political leadership was accused of not giving up its request for changes in the military leadership. This statement leads to a split. I fear some forces are now trying to transfer the split that had been imposed on the Republic of Serb Krajina to the Serb Republic," said Krajisnik.

"If this were to happen the consequences could be disastrous. Those who are now issuing such statements are probably not aware of it," he added. Krajisnik called on authors of these statements to "keep away from risky business as this has a destructive effect on the state. We must establish unity and we do not need any point-scoring arguments in the public," he added. Krajisnik said that "the people and the Army will not stand for any splits" and no one can have any influence on the morale and readiness to defend the borders.

Krajisnik Denounces 'Disinformation' Campaign

LD2008213495 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1957 GMT 20 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 20 Aug (SRNA)—Momcilo Krajisnik, president of the People's Assembly of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic, told [Bosnian] Serb TV this evening that the purpose of the latest propaganda campaign is to impose the same fate on the Serb Republic as the one suffered by the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK].

According to Krajisnik, disinformation such as reports on a coup in the Serb Republic, the exchange of Trebinje for access to the sea, and the exchange of Banja Luka for Tuzla, and so on, are useful to the enemy and designed to disturb the population and the Army after the tragedy suffered by the RSK.

"The people, the leadership, and the Army want a state and no one will accept or is willing to carry out a coup which would be fatal for our republic," Krajisnik said, adding that such disinformation has also been launched from those centers blaming the Serb Republic for Krajina's tragedy.

Confirming that differences have existed between the military command and the [political] leadership of the Serb Republic, Krajisnik said that the president of the Republic made a wise decision by withdrawing his order on reorganizing the military command after the latest events in Krajina and the emergence of a new political climate.

"This move by President Karadzic has contributed to overcoming differences, but some circles keep encouraging rifts, wishing to weaken the defense potentials of our state," Krajisnik said, adding that he is confident that the Serb fighters will easily recognize such intentions and will not allow any loss of territory.

Commenting on the new political climate in the resolution of the Bosnia-Herzegovina crisis, the Assembly president said that international players are inclined to bring the war to an end as soon as possible by enabling the Serbs to have their own state with a compact territory.

"The international community no longer wishes to build the Croat-Muslim federation alone and leave to us remnants of the territory," Krajisnik said, confirming that he gained such an impression in the course of the latest diplomatic contacts in Geneva.

The Serb Republic Assembly president said that the international players tacitly agreed to the Serb Republic obtaining a wider corridor in Posavina and a compact territory without Muslim enclaves. He added that the Serbs still demand access to the sea and their part of Sarajevo.

"The war should end in one month if we preserve our territories, because the Croats' and Muslims' appetite has grown following the occupation of a part of the RSK," Krajisnik said in conclusion [sentence as received]. He appealed to the fighters not to allow the loss of territory. By not allowing this, they will guarantee a favorable political solution.

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Foreign Ministers Welcome U.S. Peace Initiative

LD2108083295 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 21 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Mate Granic and Muhamed Sacirbegovic, foreign ministers of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, met at Zagreb airport this morning. Their discussion focused on the latest U.S. initiative for a peaceful settlement on the territory of the former Yugoslavia. Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina welcome the U.S. proposal. This is why we believe that the recent accident on Igman was a great loss. We hope that the initiative will be taken further as soon as possible, Mate Granic said after the talks. He recalled that Croatia will not be ready to accept any further concessions to Milosevic. This means that Croatia's aims are to restore, as soon as possible, the remaining occupied areas and achieve territorial integrity and mutual recognition of all three states: Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia], Granic said.

Talking about the latest U.S. initiative, Muhamed Sacirbegovic stressed that this time there are indications that mechanisms for implementing the plan have been provided, as well as a strategy on what to do if the Bosnian Serbs do not accept it. We would not continue to negotiate if we did not feel that new mechanisms for exerting pressure on Pale and Belgrade to accept peace have been introduced. Maps have been proposed before, but they remained only on paper, Sacirbegovic said.

According to Granic, the two ministers also discussed the Rapid Reaction Force and the problem of the Muslim refugees around Vojnic. We agreed to step up efforts to return the refugees to their homes, the Croatian foreign minister said.

Discuss Refugees, Eastern Slavonia

AU2108113395 Paris AFP in English 1045 GMT 21 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Aug 21 (AFP)—The foreign ministers of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina backed further U.S. diplomatic efforts in former Yugoslavia at a meeting here on Monday [21 August].

Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic said Croatia hoped the U.S. peace initiative could resume "as soon as possible" after the accidental deaths on Saturday of three U.S. diplomats on a mission in Bosnia.

Granic added that Croatia's goal was to recover rapidly the control of those parts of its territory still "occupied" by Serb separatists. The last remaining area under Serb control in Croatia is eastern Slavonia which lies on Croatia's eastern border with Serbia.

Bosnian Foreign Minister Mohamed Sacirbegovic said Sarajevo had agreed to discuss the latest U.S. proposals to end the war because the plan contained a mechanism for pressuring Belgrade and the Bosnian Serbs.

The two ministers also discussed the fate of thousands of supporters of Fikret Abdic, the dissident Bosnian Moslem leader from the northwest Bihac pocket. His supporters have taken refuge in Croatia and refuse to go back to their homes in Velika Kladusa.

"We have decided to intensify our joint efforts to get these refugees to return home," Granic said.

Croatia and Bosnia signed an agreement on repatriating refugees after their joint operation to break the siege of the Bihac pocket.

But Abdic supporters claim the accords do not contain enough guarantees for their safety and have refused to budge from a stretch of road where they are camped near Vojnic, south of Zagreb.

Tudjman Holds News Conference 18 Aug

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[News conference by President Franjo Tudjman, mediated by presidential spokeswoman Natasa Rajakovic, with foreign and domestic correspondents at the presidential palace in Zagreb—live]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Presidential spokeswoman Natasa Rajakovic] Ladies and gentleman, good day. We are opening a news conference by Dr. Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia. The news conference will last 45 minutes. I would like to ask you to introduce yourselves before asking questions. Colleague Rajic, Croatian TV, if you care to go first.

[Rajic] Zeljko Rajic, Croatian TV. An American delegation led by Richard Holbrooke has been visiting republics of the former Yugoslavia for the past few days: Belgrade, Sarajevo, Zagreb, and today the last talks with you. Could you briefly assess whether the offered plan is favorable and whether Croatia is ready? And, what is your assessment of that plan? Thank you.

[Tudjman] Who told you that today is the last day?

It is obvious that the United States has taken the initiative now, so that a solution to the crisis in the former Yugoslavia is found. The high-level delegation, which first visited world metropolises and is now touring Zagreb, Belgrade, and Sarajevo, has come on behalf of President Clinton. These are, so far, the most serious U.S. efforts, which were largely agreed with the European Union and with Russia.

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As far as we are concerned, we support these efforts. We wish the United States to be successful so that desirable solutions are reached in a few weeks' time.

Clearly, on our part, apart from supporting these efforts, when our views are being sought and we have some proposals, suggestions, for instance, that solutions should bring an end not just to the existing war crisis. As far as Croatia is concerned this is the liberation of Croatia's remaining occupied territories, eastern Slavonia and Baranja, and the important issue of the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Furthermore, that a political solution creates preconditions for a new and stable international order in the former Yugoslavia and even in this part of the world.

For my part, we will do everything to ensure that such a solution is found.

[Rajakovic] Mrs. Ramljak, you are next.

[Ramljak] Olga Ramljak, SLOBODNA DALMACIJA. Is it true that the latest initiative means postponing by at least two years a solution for the occupation of eastern Slavonia and Baranja, and, later on, a referendum by the people now living there and those who are yet to arrive and a possibility of the Bosnian Serbs having access to the sea, which would once again affect the territory of Dubrovnik county? If that is true, can Croatia agree to it?

[Tudjman] I have never heard of such proposals. I do not know where you heard them. Consequently, none of this is true. The U.S. proposal proceeds from the fact that the so-called former Sector East, eastern Slavonia and Baranja, forms an integral part of Croatia, and it is out of the question to allow anyone to hold a referendum and decide to whom this territory belongs.

On our part, we have only expressed readiness and willingness to include this area in Croatia's constitutional and legal system by peaceful means. We would like to avoid new victims and we would like to contribute to, and not hinder, the efforts leading to a peaceful solution. It goes without saying that Croatia could never agree to any referendum or any attempts at calling into question the territorial integrity of Croatia on this soil.

Likewise, unlike you, I heard no such proposals from the side that draws up these peace plans about any Serb access to the sea.

[Milosevic] Aleksandar Milosevic, VJESNIK. Mr. President, today I heard from sources close to the Croatian Ministry of Foreign Affairs that some 800 Croatian citizens of Serb nationality who left Croatia during the liberation of western Slavonia and during Operation Storm want to return to Croatia. However, the authorities of the so-called Federal Republic of Yugoslavia are not allowing them to do this. What does Croatia intend to do so that these Croatian citizens stop being the hostages of the Belgrade regime? Thank you.

[Tudjman] Clearly, we cannot influence events in Serbia and their Yugoslavia. As our public and the world public knows, we guaranteed all civil and ethnic rights to the Serb population in the occupied territories earlier on. During Operation Storm I called on these citizens to stay, but they left voluntarily and despite our appeals. For our part we will receive individuals who have not transgressed and who want to come to Croatia as citizens of Croatia.

But on our part we cannot influence the way the authorities who invited them are treating them in Serbia now. We can only make a principled appeal that they be treated humanely and that human and civil rights be respected.

We are interested specifically in the international community's influencing the Serbian authorities in both Serbia and Bosnia so that the forceful expulsion of Croatian citizens, which had started even before western Slavonia and central parts of Croatia were liberated in Operation Storm, is stopped; so that the expulsion of thousands and thousands of Croatians is prevented, specifically from the Banja Luka area, where we are witnessing a systematic expulsion of the entire Croatian population, carried out over the past few, and especially the past two, years and despite all appeals to end this, appeals to local and world authorities by the local bishop, Komarica.

We are also seeing that Croats from Srijem [Srem] and from Vojvodina are being forcefully expelled, while no one forcefully expelled the Serb population in Croatia. On the contrary, they were invited to stay. So, it can be seen who is acting, and in what way, when resolving this painful question that we are witnessing.

[Rajakovic] Next, please.

[Paloka, BBC] Mr. President, the decision by the Serbian authorities to settle Serb refugees from Croatia in Kosovo has caused many reactions in the world. America, Greece, Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], and Albania have reacted. Can you comment on this? Does this mean that Milosevic is not planning to return them to Croatia?

[Tudjman] I have nothing to say about this because I believe that this is now the problem of the people who have fled and the Serbian authorities on whose territory they now are.

[Name indistinct, in English with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] [Name indistinct] of NHK, Japan

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Broadcasting Cooperation. Some people believe that you made a secret deal with Mr. Milosevic to divide Bosnia-Herzegovina in two. To prove this, they have shown a map that you allegedly drew on 6 May 1995. Could you comment on this?

[Tudjman] There has been no agreement between me and Milosevic on the division of Bosnia. As for the map, which has been published and used for speculations, its absurdity is obvious by the virtue of the fact that, under the map, I would allegedly agree to Baranja and eastern Slavonia, as well as parts of southern Dalmatia's, being given to Serbia.

This is an attempt to compromise Croatia's policy, and an attempt to ascribe to Croatia a solution advocated by some of the circles that have published the map.

In this connection, I would like to say, you representatives of the seventh power that is certainly monitoring world events probably know that in 1993 certain circles in Brussels, either NATO or the EU, published a map on the division of the spheres of interests in present-day Europe. There are great similarities between that division and the map that was ascribed to me.

Of course, in Bosnia-Herzegovina we are facing a truly complex situation. Objectively, the situation is so complex that the three constituent nations in Bosnia-Herzegovina have so far failed to find a solution by agreement. In the same way, the entire world, including Europe and key players in Europe and the world, have failed to find a solution acceptable to the three constituent nations in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and to the main international and European players and powers.

It is clear to everyone that this is the region in which nations and civilizations have always been divided, since ancient times, since the Roman empire, since the schism in Christianity until the Churchill-Stalin agreement in the Second World War on the 50-50 division of the spheres of interest.

Furthermore, what is the point of ascribing to me an agreement between me and Milosevic on the division of Bosnia-Herzegovina, when precisely those who are offering the latest solution are saying that the Croat-Muslim federation should be allowed to have confederal relations with Croatia, and that the Serb part of Bosnia should be allowed to have confederal relations with, and rely on, Serbia, in the framework of the Contact Group's proposal envisaging 51 [percent] to 49 [percent]? Thus, the problem lies in the search for a solution and in the attempt to present the solution in a different, hypocritical light.

[Jenkins in English with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] Cathy Jenkins, BBC. There are reports of plunder and arson in Krajina. Will you take steps to prevent your army from doing these things?

[Tudjman] Respected lady, the Croatian Army did not do any of the things mentioned by you here, and by a number of other journalists and even some representatives of the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR], or rather UN Confidence Restoration Operation [UNCRO]. In no area did the Croatian Army set fire to or destroy anything. There were reports that the whole of Knin was on fire. I went to Knin, and other people went to Knin. Knin was not in flames. Compared to the level of fighting and resistance, there was very little destruction.

It is clear that in the type of war that was waged in that area, it was impossible to do everything without any war destruction, as is always the case with war operations.

But, as the president of Croatia I must express not only surprise but also the indignation of the Croatian public over the fact that certain international circles have turned a deaf ear to the persecution and expulsion of hundreds of thousands of people: 400,000 non-Serbs, Croats, Hungarians, Germans, Ukrainians, and Ruthenians, have been expelled from Croat areas in the Yugo-communist and Serbian aggression against Croatia. Thousands of these people were killed. No crocodile tears were shed then. Now, no attention is being paid to what happened in Zepa and Srebrenica and to the expulsion of thousands and tens of thousands of people from Serbia and the Banja Luka area.

I dare say, this is evidence of an untenable attitude toward the problem of the former Yugoslavia and the problem of establishing a new order in the area.

The Croatian public has heard these reports with surprise and indignation. The Croatian authorities, me personally and the Croatian Government, have done everything possible to prevent everything that could be avoided in similar operations. Objective international observers had to admit that these two Croatian Army operations, Flash and Storm, were carried out in a professional way, at the highest professional level, very effectively and efficiently, and no actions of the kind you asked me about were carried out.

[Ramljak] Olga Ramljak. I would like to ask something else about the Dubrovnik area, which has again become the target of Bosnian Serb shelling. How long will Croatia tolerate the repeated destruction of Dubrovnik, the killing of people, and the lack of protection for its people?

[Tudjman] The answer will be similar to the one about eastern Slavonia and Baranja. We will tolerate it as long as our patience holds out. All our efforts are to find a peaceful solution and prevent the escalation of the

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conflict, which is what the international and European powers, the main international players are afraid of.

For our part, we will do everything to find a peaceful solution to all problems in order to spare more victims and in order to prevent destruction and victims there, and to find a definitive solution. If we fail to find a peaceful solution with the help of international players, we will take steps that will have clearly defined objectives.

[Name indistinct] Mr. President, our officials, such as [Foreign Minister Mate] Granic, have said that Croatia will do everything possible to accept the peace plan. If Bosnia does not accept the peace plan, and Croatia does, are you afraid of some kind of distancing, as happened in 1993? Thank you.

[Tudjman] What kind of distancing?

[Name indistinct] A cooling down of relations between Bosnia and Croatia. The possibility of a repeated deterioration in relations between Croatia and Bosnia, between Bosnian Croats and Bosniaks?

[Tudjman] No, I am not afraid of that because, following the Washington agreement, relations between the Croat and Bosniak Muslim nations in Bosnia-Herzegovina were established on such firm foundations that we can rest assured that there can be no cooling down in relations, and the possibility of the conflict's resuming is even more remote.

The clashes that broke out then, when the international community was ready to take more resolute steps, air strikes, against the Serb aggression, were provoked in an artificial way. They were also the manifestation of some Muslim leaders' aspirations to capture the whole of Mostar at all costs and gain access to the Adriatic sea in a wide area. However, because the Croat and Muslim nations shared the interest of resisting the Serb aggression, and because the international community showed interest in halting that conflict, the Washington agreement was signed. The Washington agreement on the federation and confederal relations between the federation and Croatia has so far yielded satisfactory results. There are no conflicts; friendship is ever stronger and wider. More agreements, which have strengthened cooperation in economic and military spheres, have been signed.

To remind you that it is obvious that these agreements and cooperation between the Croat and Bosniak Muslim nations have a good foundation and have yielded results, I will tell you the following. The agreement between Israel and the Palestinians was also signed under the auspices of international players, and even the United States, but the war goes on there and there are daily killings and clashes. In Northern Ireland, despite the democratic systems in Great Britain and Ireland, and despite all agreements and constitutional solutions, the clashes and conflicts continue. I will not give you any more examples.

So, when you compare these cases, which are more than topical, with what we have achieved in removing conflicts between Croats and Muslims and establishing the federation and its links with Croatia, we can be satisfied. This guarantees that, in the future. those who are on the aggressor's side and those who would like to see a different solution should not and cannot count on the resurgence of these conflicts, because this is in the interests of the Croat people and in the strategic interests of the Croatia state, as well as the Bosniak Muslims; because they have realized that, apart from Croatia, they have no active friends and allies on whom they can count in the context of their survival in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Name indistinct] TIME magazine. What will be the next steps in Croatia's policy? What is the final aim at the end of the whole process? Can you outline the forthcoming steps?

[Tudjman] The aims of Croatia's policy are certainly the liberation of eastern Slavonia and Baranja and Croatia's contribution to the end of the war, as well as the establishing of the international order in Bosnia-Herzegovina, which will provide security for the Croatian state and create preconditions for a stable peace in this area in the future.

Of course, I have not said anything about other aims. I did not think you wanted to know about that. But we want the end of the war and the liberation of our occupied areas to create conditions more favorable for the building of our democratic system, for rebuilding destroyed parts of Croatia, and for Croatia's economic and cultural development.

[Name indistinct, in English with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] International Public Radio, Washington. You have called on Serbs to stay in Croatia and you have called on them to return. Is either your government or the Army considering any measures to protect the property of Serbs who have left and who might return?

[Tudjman] Naturally, we are prepared to respect the property of those who will return and who will remain the citizens of Croatia. Likewise, we must take steps to integrate these lands and property into normal economic life, because they will go to ruin if left as they are now. It should be borne in mind that a third of the Croatian territory was destroyed and that we have

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nowhere to accommodate 200,000 Croatian refugees and 184,000 refugees from Bosnia-Herzegovina. So, within the framework of all these problems, the Croatian Government will undertake steps regarding what you asked about.

[Rajakovic] Next, please. Mr. Milosevic of VJESNIK, your turn.

[Milosevic] Mr. President, I would like to ask one more question. Have Croatia's chances to be accepted into the Partnership for Peace increased following Operation Storm, because it has proved itself to be a respectable [respektabilna] military power?

[Tudjman] Yes, it is obvious that Croatia today is not just internationally recognized, even by those who were not very sympathetic toward a sovereign and independent Croatia, but Croatia's reputation because of the stability of its democratic system and because it has proved to be capable of, and many in the world, even among Croatia's friends, doubted whether Croatia was capable of liberating its territories, this means Croatia has become a respectable regional power. [sentence as heard]

Of course, this creates more favorable conditions for the overall relations between Croatia and the world and especially regarding the Partnership for Peace with NATO and Croatia's integration into the EU processes. As you know, the president of the European Council, Spanish minister Solana, was to have come on the 6th, when Operation Flash [bljijesak] was under way, and this was postponed, but he has already come as the head of a high-level European delegation. [sentence as heard] This is also a sign that Europe is ready to cooperate with Croatia; and that, in this respect, conditions regarding everything are more favorable today than they were before these operations, before flashes and storms.

[Jenkins, in English with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] Kathy Jenkins, BBC. Let us briefly mention Dubrovnik again. There has been a concentration of Croatian troops there. You have mentioned the word patience. How much longer will you exercise your patience? Are we talking here about weeks or days?

[Tudjman] It depends.

[Puljis] Helena Puljis, GLAS SLAVONIJE. Can you please tell me if Croatia will set a deadline for the Serbs who left the newly liberated areas to return? How long will you give them?

[Tudjman] First of all, we will set no deadlines. We have invited them to stay; they left and [rephrases], in other words, this is now a problem to be tackled by those who control them, and by individuals of course. I have already answered the second part of your question.

[Culic] Marinko Culic, Croatian TV. I have a question of interest not only to the fighters who took part in Operation Storm [to capture Krajina] but also to the public. What is the truth? How many weapons have been seized? What is the value of the arms seized from the enemy, and can it be expressed in terms of money that Croatia would have earned if it had a normal tourist season?

[Tudjman] First of all we would have preferred to have had a normal tourist season, and not to have had to undertake this military operation. In reply to your question, I must say that it was a bloody undertaking. In that operation we, ladies and gentlemen, had about 200 killed and over 1,300 wounded. In other words, it is not true, as some claimed, that the Serbs put up no defense whatsoever; that in fact they evacuated their people. On the contrary, they offered considerable resistance, but their resistance was crushed by the high morale in the Croatian Army, by a very clever operative plan, by the surprise factor, and that is why our victory was so quick, why our spoils of war were so huge.

I would not like to put a value on our spoils, but I can tell you that it is higher than the military hardware we used. That they were preparing for prolonged resistance is borne out by the amount of military hardware we seized, and by the amount of food and equipment, including humanitarian aid, that we seized. We also seized documents that show that certain members of the international organizations that operated in the area, the former UNPROFOR and current UNCRO, to a large extent cooperated with the rebel authorities and terrorists. In other words, the outcome of this operation, regardless of the fact that we had to pay with precious lives and casualties, which are large, but on the other hand are small when put in the context of what we have achieved [rephrases] by liberating central Croatia we have created conditions for not just present stability but the future of the Croatian state.

[Rajakovic] Sir, you are next, please.

[Vukic] Igor Vukic, NOVI LIST [NEW PAPER] and GLAS ISTRE [THE VOICE OF ISTRIA] correspondent. Mr. President, as far as we can tell from newspaper articles, Fikret Abdic is in Zagreb. He has given himself up to the Croatian forces. Can you tell us what his fate will be? Whether Croatia will extradite him to Bosnia-Herzegovina? And how did those negotiations go?

[Tudjman] Above all, Bosnia-Herzegovina has not asked for his extradition. During the talks with the

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Bosnia-Herzegovina delegation headed by Presidency president Mr. Izetbegovic in Split, Mr. Izetbegovic and the Bosnia-Herzegovina leadership, not just of the Bosnia-Herzegovina federation but also of the Republic, agreed that it was useful to force Abdic and his group to cooperate and to give up their previous cooperation with the Serb occupiers. So, the question of extradition has not been raised. All the factors that I mentioned have agreed that animosity between Muslims should be stopped; that the people who fled with Abdic to the Croatian territory should be returned to their places, to their homes, and that Abdic should be allowed to do work that he is very capable of doing. Later, when the war ends, whether or not he will take part in political life should be looked at through a democratic procedure and elections.

[Rajakovic] Next, please.

[Bolger, in English with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] Julian Bolger from THE GUARDIAN. Does this mean that 23,000 of Abdic's followers, who are now in Vojnic in Croatia, are not welcome...

[Tudjman, interrupting] Yes.

[Bolger continues] ...to stay in Croatia...

[Tudjman, interrupting] For those 20,000 to 30,000 people to stay in Croatia is not acceptable to us, because there is no reason for it. They can return to their neighboring areas. [sentence as heard] There is no reason for them to stay in these areas and sow a seed of discord between Croatia and the federation, that is, between the Croat-Bosniak federation and Croatia. This question should be resolved bearing in mind the interests of both states and the interests of these people. The interest of each of them is to return to their homes, but the fear they feel that they may be exposed to harassment or be killed, should be overcome.

But Mr. Izetbegovic, the federation government, and the Croatian Government have undertaken to guarantee their safety in that agreement on their return. I believe that a solution will be found on the basis of this.

[Rajakovic] Next question please.

[Name indistinct, in English with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] [Name and paper indistinct] Mr. President, there is talk that Gorazde might be exchanged for Sarajevo. The United States has denied that this proposal exists, but the United Nations has now decided to withdraw from Gorazde. Do you think there is any link between the U.S. proposal and the UN withdrawal, and what is your opinion about this?

[Tudjman] It is true that the United States has said that within their peace plan and efforts, the United States does not want to impose a solution or to recommend a territory swap for Gorazde, etc. It is up to the Muslim and Serb leaderships to find a solution that would be acceptable to both of them. Although looking at the history from the past century onward, and at the five years of talks that we have had since 1990 and especially since 1992, it is difficult to envisage that they will achieve...[pauses] There will be difficulties in reaching that mutual agreement.

But it seems to me that such an agreement is possible if the international factors are more resolutely involved. You know that there is talk about a five-plus-three summit, and that such a solution, which in the interests of general peace and stability of a future order would then be imposed on the side that rejects it, should be found at such a summit.

But it seems to me that there are chances to reach such a solution, especially because there is talk even among the public that instead of inefficient UNPROFOR in Bosnia-Herzegovina, NATO forces will be involved in order to reach a final solution and peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina. If this happens, then a sensible solution, which the sides in the conflict would accept or with which they would be presented on the condition that they must accept it, would be very appropriate.

[Rajakovic] Next, please.

[Unidentified correspondent] Mr. President, you said earlier that certain international circles are still cultivating the idea of some kind of a new federation or confederation in this region, along the lines of some kind of third Yugoslavia. Do you think that after Croatia's last operation that idea still survives?

[Tudjman] I think that the international circles or individuals that wanted to preserve the former Yugoslavia and the outcome of the First World War [rephrases] that they will not gladly and easily give up and that they will continue cultivating this idea.

We can see the perseverance of this idea from the proposal to first form a Yugoslav confederation and then a Balkan federation, and then an Adriatic confederation, to the idea that it would not need to be a confederation but could be a union and even a union of southeastern Europe, to make it more acceptable to Croatia.

Of course, no such confederation or union is any longer acceptable for Croatia. It is particularly unacceptable after Croatia showed what it is capable of over the past few months. I said before, it is not acceptable. But I also said something else that I will repeat again today. We are in favor of the normalization of relations between Croatia and Serbia. We are in favor of the normalization of Croatian-Serbian relations because this

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is a precondition for an end to all conflicts in the territory of the former Yugoslavia, and for creating a stable international order. These relations should be based on mutual recognition of the sovereignty of the states that have been created in the territory of the former Yugoslavia.

Allow me to remind you that almost 20 years ago I wrote about the need and necessity for the Scandinavization of these unhappy Balkans, to which Croatia does not completely belong but on which it borders. We are very interested not only in liberating Croatia's areas but also in solving the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina and in establishing international order in this region, which has throughout history been known as a powder keg. It seems to me that we have sufficient experience and that the Serbs are increasingly aware of the historic necessity for normalization of Croatian-Serbian relations.

[Drazen Curic, VJESNIK] Mr. President, your internal affairs adviser has announced changes in the constitutional law on national minorities. Can you confirm this? And what is going to happen with Knin and Glina districts?

[Tudjman] The changes in the constitutional law are in the domain of the Croatian state assembly but, in any case, the changes that have taken place have in a way cancelled this law. In other words, it is no longer possible to enforce the provisions of the law. When this happens will depend on the state assembly and on the need to introduce new administration in these areas. Understandably, if special status was envisaged for these districts because the Serbs were in the majority in some municipalities, now that this is no longer the case, there is no need for it, and other constitutional and legal provisions, applicable to the rest of the country, must apply.

[Pavlovic, CROATIAN JUNIOR] Mr. President, please tell us if in any future negotiations Croatia will stress the need to be told what has happened to our prisoners in Serbia and those held by Bosnian Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina? Will you again put pressure on the international community?

[Tudjman] Well, we have been doing this since the very beginning of the war. As you know, since the tragedy of Vukovar, which particularly affected Croatia, the Croatian people, and the Croatian nation, we have been making special efforts to have these issues resolved, and we will of course try again to clarify them once and for all.

We have charged the Croatian Government, and Deputy Prime Minister Kostovic, in particular, with these issues, and certain results have been achieved, but there are still some open issues that we wish to see resolved.

[Rajakovic] The last question please.

[Bokic] Igor Bokic, GLAS ISTRE correspondent. Will there be elections in Croatia following everything that has happened here? Are reports that they will be held before the new year true?

[Tudjman] I do not know that. You will be informed in time. But in any case there is not much difference, in terms of time, in whether they will be held now or in the spring. I believe that the political climate is favorable and that there is a need to hold elections as soon as possible, because a quarter of the occupied territories that were outside the constitutional and legal system are now liberated, so there is a need to elect representatives and local authorities there, etc. But as to when they will be held, you will be informed in time.

[Rajakovic] Mrs. Ramljak, to end the conference.

[Ramljak] To answer the previous question, if elections are to be held, and if a reason is that parts of Croatia were liberated, will a census be held before the elections? Since the demographic picture has been changed in Croatia?

[Tudjman] Yes, certainly. If early elections are held, then one of the main reasons is the liberation of the occupied areas, and it is necessary to establish the true state of demographic affairs in these areas. Whether a census can be held just in these areas or in all of Croatia is currently a matter of discussion.

[Rajakovic] Ladies and gentlemen, we thank you. The news conference by the president of the Republic is over.

[Tudjman] Thank you and goodbye.

Tudjan on 'Right' To Retake Eastern Slavonia

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[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Belgrade, Aug 20 (AFP)—[Passage omitted] Croatia's President Franjo Tudjman said his country has the right to retake its territory of eastern Slavonia if the U.S. peace initiative fails.

"If the American initiative on the former Yugoslavia fails, then Croatia would be within its rights to retake eastern Slavonia and help the Moslems to continue their offensive in Bosnia," Tudjman said in an interview with French television broadcast Saturday night.

Tudjman said he was ready to meet his Serbian counterpart Slobodan Milosevic, who has warned against any

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Croatian offensive in eastern Slavonia, but was "not too optimistic regarding a possible agreement."

Yeltsin Envoy Hopeful After Talks With Tudjman

LD2108113495 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 21 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Croatian President Dr. Franjo Tudjman has received, in the presidential palace, Aleksandr Zotov, special envoy of the president of the Russian Federation. After the talks Zotov made a press statement. Vera Tomasek reports:

[Tomasek] Zotov said that the talks with President Tudjman were useful and interesting.

[Begin Zotov recording in English with superimposed Serbo-Croatian report by Tomasek] Concerning this present situation in the former Yugoslavia in the wake of the latest developments we also spoke about the chances for normalization, President Yeltsin's proposal, and the U.S. plan. [end recording]

Zotov said that these plans do not conflict in principle, as there are many common points in the approach by both countries. He said that the Contact Group must preserve unity, because it bears responsibility for the resolution of the crisis. Therefore, he believes that this meeting with President Tudjman gives hope for a fruitful move toward normalization.

In conclusion, Zotov announced he is due to visit Sarajevo and Belgrade, and that the Contact Group will be meeting soon.

Official Seeks Help To Shelter Refugees

LD1908214995 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 19 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Announcer] Jadranka Kosor talked to Minister Adalbert Rebic, head of the Croatian Government's office for refugees and displaced persons, about the expulsion of Croats from the Banja Luka area and their reception.

[Begin recording] [Kosor] Mr. Rebic, every day Croatia faces the growing problem of sheltering people driven out of the Banja Luka area by the Serbs.

[Rebic] Yes, and in a very drastic form too. Every day the number of refugees grows. Yesterday we had to receive 2,323 refugees from Banja Luka; 1,299 of them were Muslim and 756 were Croats. This is simply too many people for one day. We cannot find accommodation for them all in the Republic of Croatia.

We asked the president of the Davor municipality, Mr. Jakircevic, to ask the Banja Luka authorities to slow down, to ease the pressure and slow down. We simply cannot accommodate all these refugees. We have no room for them.

I asked today that we be sent no more than 1,000 refugees under any circumstances. We are simply under such pressure. [passage omitted]

We also asked the Bosnia-Herzegovina Embassy in Zagreb to help us. Some of the refugees could be moved to free areas of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. [end recording]

100,000 Refugees 'Can Return'

LD2108123595 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 21 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Minister Adalbert Rebic, head of the government's office for refugees and displaced persons, held a news conference in Zagreb today. He talked about the problems of accommodating refugees and displaced persons in the Republic of Croatia and announced the return of Croatian refugees from Germany. Jadranka Kosor reports:

[Kosor] After Operation Storm, 103,000 Croats can return to their homes. They, as well as around 15,000 refugees from the liberated areas of western Slavonia, must return immediately. There is no reason for them to remain in provided accommodation for more than one month now, Rebic said, appealing to everyone to take care of property in the liberated areas. It is Croatian property, he said.

He talked about the expulsion of Croats from the Banja Luka area and Vojvodina. We accepted and housed both Croats and Muslims from Banja Luka, Rebic said:

[Begin Rebic recording] We are settling the refugees from Banja Luka, expelled by Serbs from their houses and apartments, in empty homes in the municipalities of Sunja, Vrginmost, and Vojnic because it is logical that those empty houses should be filled as soon as possible. [end recording]

Speaking about the people from Velika Kladusa who are stranded around Vojnic and refusing to return home, Minister Rebic said, in response to a statement by Emma Bonino, the EU commissioner for humanitarian issues, that the suggestion that they should be accommodated in Croatia is out of the question. They can return to their homes, and we want to solve this problem by agreement, Rebic said.

Adalbert Rebic is going to Bonn soon for talks on the return of Croatian refugees from Germany. They will start coming back on 1 October this year.

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2,100 Expellees Arrive by Boat

LD1908215095 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 19 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Despite heavy rain and bad weather around 2200 this evening, more than 2,100 Croats and other non-Serbs expelled from the Banja Luka area and other areas in northwestern Bosnia crossed the Sava River from Srbac in Bosnia to Davor in Croatia by boats. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] According to today's schedule for receiving and accommodating refugees and displaced persons, the Office for Refugees of the Croatian Government planned to receive around 1,000, but that number was considerably increased at the insistence of the UNHCR [UN High Commissioner for Refugees], which has found temporary accommodation in Croatia for Muslims, too. [passage omitted]

Amnesty Law Said To Apply to Abdic's Status

LD2008130095 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 20 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The return of citizens from the Cazin and Velika Kladusa areas, who fled to Kupljensko in the Republic of Croatia, was the topic of today's news conference by Deputy Prime Minister Bosiljko Misetic. Milena Jukic-Ugrin reports:

[Jukic-Ugrin] Croatia wishes to resolve the problem in a civilized and humane way; consequently, an agreement was reached between representatives of the Republic of Croatia, the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, and citizens of Velika Kladusa who have fled from there. The purpose of the agreement is to prevent the sufferings of the people and their settlement in Croatia and to secure their return as quickly as possible, Misetic said.

Croatia is trying to nip in the bud the nascent political emigration on its soil and reaffirm its relations with the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, in keeping with the Washington and Split accords.

According to Deputy Prime Minister Misetic, 15,000 to 20,000 people will return to the Velika Kladusa area as soon as they receive firm guarantees that all their human and civilian rights will be respected. These people do not want to return for the time being because they fought against their own people, and Fikret Abdic made a mistake of not accepting the invitation from Federation President Kresimir Zubak calling on Abdic's men to join either the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army or the Croat Defense Council. In this way, he has become an out and out political loser wanting to turn his defeat into some sort of a political gain, Misetic said.

Fikret Abdic is currently in Croatia where his status is that of a citizen to whom the amnesty law applies, as agreed during the meeting between Presidents Tudjman and Izetbegovic. The amnesty law also applies to all other citizens from Velika Kladusa and Cazin who return in accordance with the agreement signed on 8 August.

Armed Forces Shell Eastern Slavonia Targets

LD1908223195 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2120 GMT 19 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Vukovar, 19 Aug (TANJUG)—Croatian forces opened mortar fire on civilian targets and positions of the Serb Krajina army on several occasions today, the Vukovar-based command of the Slavonia and Baranja Corps of the Serb Krajina army announced this evening.

Three Serb soldiers received light injuries in these attacks; adequate response was given to the Croatian attacks, the corps statement says.

Shortly after 1400 [1200 GMT] today, members of the Croatian Army based in Jarmina forest, northeast of Vinkovci, fired 10 mortar shells on Serb positions in the region of the village of Gabos.

Only one hour later mortar fire was directed from the same place on Serb positions near the village of Ostrovo.

Around 1600, Croatian forces directed mortar fire on the vicinity of Kopacevo in Baranja, northeast of Osijek; around 1900 Serb positions near Paulin Dvor were targeted.

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Minister Holds Reception To Commemorate Army Day

AU1908181595 Skopje MIC in English 18 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] On the occasion of August 18—the Day of the Army of the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], yesterday in the Hall of the Army in Skopje, Defense Minister Blagoj Handziski organized a reception for the highest state leaders, the diplomatic corps, and military attaches, accredited in Macedonia. In congratulating the great holiday to the soldiers, officers, and civilians serving in the Army and the employees in the Defense Ministry, Minister Handziski stressed that all the structures of the Defense Ministry and the Macedonian Army are functioning fully, that the Macedonian Army is led by officers with exceptional knowledge and expertise, that a civilian model of defense is being built, compatible with the defense models of the countries with long-lasting parliamentary tradition and in particular the member-states of the collective defense systems.

"We have created possibilities for wide international cooperation on the field of defense with a number of countries in the region, member-states of the European Union, the United States and the Russian Federation. We are giving special attention to the cooperation with the neighboring countries with which we have built trust and the preservation of the peace and stability in the region," Minister Handziski said.

According to Handziski, the implementation of the unjust embargo on the import and export of military means decimate the capacities of the Macedonian factories for specialized production and usurps the right to equip the Army with modern military means. Handziski expressed the hope that with the understanding of the whole international community and especially the members of the Security Council, Macedonia will be restored this right from the UN Charter.

The President of Macedonia Kiro Gligorov also congratulated this holiday to the Army, who, in retrospective of the past couple of years of its formation, emphasized that the Macedonian Army presents a factor of peace and stability of our country, it has managed to establish a very fruitful cooperation with influential Western countries and slowly, but surely, it fulfills the conditions for acceptance in the collective security systems.

"I believe in this army, as all the citizens believe in it. I believe that a basis for all the citizens of Macedonia has been created, for all the nationalities to have the right and obligation to keep and defend this fatherland to us all. Therefore, that feeling that the army belongs to all those living in Macedonia is one of the important conditions for the stability of our country, for our outside stability and our defense," Gligorov stressed at the end.

Air Force Col Says Aircraft Needed for Defense

AU1908125295 Skopje MIC in English 18 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Commander of the Military Air Force and Anti-Aircraft Defence of the Macedonian [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] Army Colonel Mile Manolev said in the latest issue of the weekly FOCUS that the "theses which appeared in some information means that Macedonia is a small area and that there are no conditions for aircraft to fly in it, are arbitrary assertions which are unsustainable."

"Every state, if it wants to respect what has been outlined in the decrees of the United Nations, must be capable of defending itself. This means that in order to keep the sovereignty of the air space, there have to be means which, after the failure of international procedures, will embark on the elimination of the 'perpetrator,'" Manolev says.

Chemicals Meant for Montenegro Plant Intercepted

AU1908180095 Skopje MIC in English 15 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] A large load of raw materials for the production of household appliances, intended for the Cetin factory "Obod" in Montenegro has been captured in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], MAKPRESS agency reports, calling upon the news of the Belgrade agency BETA.

This agency reports that the controllers for the implementation of the sanctions against FR [Federal Republic of] Yugoslavia are not allowing the cargo to cross the border.

According to information from "Obod," the 17 trucks loaded with the chemical substance polistirol are in the vicinity of Skopje. At the end, the BETA agency claims that the legal or semi-legal transport of polistirol through the border is not possible as it is an oil derivative, which falls under the constant control of the international controllers for the implementation of the sanctions.

Parliament To Debate Law on Local Self-Management

AU1908180195 Skopje MIC in English 15 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The draft-law on local self-management will find itself in parliamentary procedure at the beginning of fall, most probably in September. This system law, which was announced to arrive in Parliament in April, was prepared by the government during the summer.

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On the occasion of the release of the law from government procedure and its transfer to Parliament, Justice Minister Vlado Popovski stated at the recent news conference that all the ministers support the draft-law.

This statement by Minister Popovski confirms that the ministers Albanians also agree with the formulations in the law, especially as concerns the terms "majority" which is set at 50 percent and "considerable number" which is determined at 20 percent. These percentages are important in view of the fact that the rate of use of the languages of the nationalities in the local self-management will be measured according to them.

More specifically, that means that in municipalities inhabited 50 percent by a nationality, their language, beside the Macedonian, will be used in the organs of the local self-management, as well as the signs, firms and street names.

In municipalities that have 20 percent or more of a nationality, their language will be used, beside the Macedonian, but only in the organs of the local authorities.

Whether the law will be passed in Parliament is still uncertain. According to the survey of the coordinators of the deputy groups before the beginning of the summer, SDAM [Party for Democratic Action of Macedonia] and LP [Liberal Party] feel that the percentage 33 should stand behind the term "considerable number," while PDP [Party of Democratic Prosperity] feels that the figure of 20 percent is much too high.

If this law is passed as proposed by the government, it would mean that two languages will be used in parallel, in 12 municipalities out of a total of 34. Namely, in Gostivar, Kicevo, Krusevo, Kumanovo, Struga, and Tetovo, as well as the four Skopje municipalities—Center, Gazi Baba, Cair, and Karposh, where the second language will be Albanian, in Debar, where the second and third language will be Albanian and Turkish, and in Makedonski Brod, where the second language will be Turkish.

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Illness Forces Walesa To Cancel Visit to Slupsk

LD1908163795 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1600 GMT 19 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Today's planned visit to Slupsk by President Lech Walesa was called off because he is ill. The president was due to take part in two ceremonies: the first naming the promenade along the Slupia River after Father Jerzy Popieluszko; the second concluding the fifth Solidarity bridge festival. Lech Walesa will be represented by Minister Eligiusz Wlodarczyk of the Presidential Chancellery.

New Directory on Armed Forces Published

WS1808140195 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 18 Aug 95 p 3

[Report by "LUZ": "Directory of the Polish Armed Forces: The Polish Armed Forces Less Secret"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Many of the most closely guarded secrets have been disclosed by our Armed Forces in a thick book entitled *The Polish Armed Forces: Directory '95*. "This marks a breakthrough in relations between the Armed Forces and the society. It is also a symptom of further changes that will take place in the mentality of the cadres," claims Deputy Defense Minister Andrzej Karkoszka.

Jerzy Milewski, his predecessor, came up a year ago with the idea of publishing the first ever directory that would be widely accessible. There were certain difficulties, matrices had to be removed from the printing house after an extraordinary intervention of the division for classified information protection at the General Staff of the Polish Armed Forces. The division claimed certain passages of the directory pointed to attempts at disclosing state secrets.

The authors were forced to cross out telephone numbers to the specific boards of the General Staff (only their full names remained) and the numbers at which warships can be reached, although the latter have appeared without any problems in other publications. A listing of all radiotechnical units was removed as well.

"It is difficult to draw the Armed Forces from the shell they have been hiding in, especially as some of the military institutions are not doing anything to help," said Grzegorz Schmidt, head of the Press and Information Bureau of the defense ministry, at a meeting launching the publication.

Fortunately, most of the remained intact. We can thus easily learn who works at the defense ministry and who works at the General Staff, how many generals and admirals we have and at what posts, what the military are spending our money on, and what the structure of the entire Armed Forces is.

Thus far, the full list of generals was practically inaccessible to journalists.

Plan for Reforming Banking Sector Detailed

WS1808143795 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 10 Aug 95 p 10

[Report by "P.J.": "Strategy of Strengthening Polish Banking System: Multidirectional Operations"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *A few months ago, deputies charged the government with presenting an action plan aimed at strengthening the Polish banking system. In response, the Ministry of Finances combined all draft bills and planned actions concerning the banking system in one document, and presented them as a strategy for strengthening the Polish banking system.*

Every strategy should have some goal. As for the banking sector, aiming at increasing its efficiency and preparing it for competition with foreign financial institutions, the ministry made it its business to supply it with more capital, improve its security, establish interbank competition, and develop special banks and conduct privatization.

Capitalization

Given that the restrictions protecting Polish banks against foreign competition are to be abolished in 1999, capitalization is evidently not enough. In 1990-95, the State Treasury by various means (bonds, tax exemptions, payments of deposits) provided banks with additional capital amounting to 4.2 billion zlotys. Currently, however, it cannot afford to further strengthen them through purchasing additional shares in these banks. Still, it can increase the capital of its banks by handing them over shares in companies it owns. The government is to consider the possibility of reducing dividends collected by banks.

In the current situation, banks must acquire capital from foreign sources. This is to apply to both direct investments, according to which investors receive a large stake, and portfolio investments. As for the latter, shareholders are interested only in dividends and the possibility of reselling their shares. The Ministry of Finances hopes Polish communities living abroad will be interested in shares in Polish banks.

A certain mediocre form of supplying Polish banks with additional capital is their consolidation. A special bill, which has already been sent to different branches for coordination, is supposed to improve this process.

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Increasing Security

The government, along with the National Bank of Poland [NBP], is going to step up actions aimed at readjusting banks. Certain functions of NBP, however, are to be taken over by the Bank Deposit Insurance Fund [BFG]. This primarily implies supervising the implementation of improvement programs in banks facing a loss of solvency. Banks owned by the central bank, however, should be either privatized or handed over to the State Treasury. In the future, NBP is to take over banks only in particular situations. Such assumptions require strengthening of BFG. The government should earmark money for computer equipment for BFG from the former Zloty Stabilization Fund. Also considered will be supplying BFG with additional capital within the framework of future state budgets.

The government strategy envisions establishing an independent banking inspectorate. As a state baking inspectorate it should become an equivalent of the Securities Commission and State Insurance Inspectorate, which supervise the capital and insurance market. The task of NBP will be to define a monetary policy and set legal regulations. The way these functions are performed will be supervised by the bank's "specially appointed" independent board. This is to contribute to strengthening of the "central bank's independent position."

Interbank Competition

The government is supporting NBP's current policy toward foreign banks, consisting in issuing licenses for them, given that they join the restructuring of Polish banks. The strategy envisions revising the legal restrictions concerning the presence of foreign capital in the Polish banking sector. The authors of the strategy believe that "the level of 20 percent of the sector's assets is a good starting point." It should be introduced quickly to not surprise foreign investors.

Special Banks

Based on trends observed in Western countries, the authors of the strategy believe that the process of establishing ties among banks and insurance agencies should not be obstructed. During the planned privatization of PZU-Life and then PZU [state insurance agencies], the government will support initiatives presented by Polish leading banks intending to acquire strategic stakes in these agencies.

At the same time, however, the government is aware of the need to establish special banks, mortgage, municipal, and investment banks, as well as to create a legal basis for operations of banks with specialization this narrow.

Privatization

The goal of the privatization of state banks is not only to change the form of ownership, but also to help them receive additional capital. The current strategy of privatization, favoring the banks belonging to the "commercial nine" at the expense of PKO BP, Pekao SA, Bank Handlowy, and BGZ, will have to be altered. Currently, five options for privatization are being analyzed.

The first one represents the process of successive privatization of the "commercial nine" banks scheduled for 1992-96.

The second option of the strategy provides for privatization of Bank Gdanski and Powszechny Bank Kredytowy, and then consolidation of the remaining four banks [as published] into a holding company, and the latter's privatization.

Another option provides for three-stage privatization. At the first stage, banks themselves negotiate agreements on their consolidation. The ministry would put up for sale considerable amounts of shares in banks that did not manage to conclude satisfactory agreements. Should this fail, unsold banks will be handed over to other banks or investment, pension, or compensation funds.

The fourth option envisions selling banks to Polish banks and foreign investors at special auctions.

The last option provides for transferring shares in state-owned banks to the leading banks (as is known from other sources, this primarily relates to Bank Handlowy) and investment, pension, and compensation funds.

The restructuring bonds handed over to banks in 1993-94 can be redeemed for the money of the former Zloty Stabilization Fund, provided these banks are privatized by 1997. Given such a short period of time, the government is going to hold talks on changing certain clauses on deadlines included in the agreement with donors, who set up the fund.

Actually, the document does not represent a timetable for conducting planned changes; it is simply a list of various plans and projects. The overwhelming majority of ideas included in the document had somehow been presented previously. Due to combining them in one official document, however, in the future it will be possible to make the government responsible for the implementation of its tasks.

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Implementation of OECD Recommendations Outlined

WS1808135695 Warsaw NOWA EUROPA in Polish 18 Aug 95 p 1

[Article by Przemyslaw Szubanski: "It May Be Difficult"]

[FBIS Translated Text] It will not be be easy for us to implement some of the recommendations proposed to Poland by the OECD [Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development] in mid-July.

In the second half of July, we received a response from the OECD regarding the issues that were brought up at the talks held in June in Paris, Jaroslaw Stypa, director of the Economic Integration Department of the Finance Ministry, told NOWA EUROPA. The document is confidential and will be discussed this month by a team comprising representatives of involved ministries and the NBP [Polish National Bank]. It has already been sent to relevant departments of the Finance Ministry and other institutions.

The June talks were devoted to bringing the present Polish legislation in line with two codes: the Liberalization of Capital Flows and Invisible Transactions and the Instrument [as published] of National Attitude Toward Foreign Investors. It is part of the application procedure for Poland's membership into the OECD.

During the Paris talks, the biggest problem was limitations imposed on foreign financial institutions operating in Poland, especially insurance companies and banks. Following the meeting in Paris, our partners expect to see their recommendations becoming facts, Jaroslaw Stypa believes. They want revision of certain legal acts, as well as changes in banking sector policies.

The negotiations will definitely not be finished this year, the director adds. Access of foreign investors to the sector of financial services remains one of the problems. Jan Stypa emphasized that some of the OECD recommendations have already been fulfilled, and others will be considered, for example, revision of the foreign exchange law or a bill on acquisition of real estate by foreigners in exchange for direct investments, which is now being prepared by the Interior Ministry. However, there are certain recommendations that will not be quickly implemented. During the Paris talks, Poland presented a list of reservations and exceptions to the two codes, as well as a list of gradual liberalization of capital operations. Also, reasons why Poland should have exceptions from OECD standards were the subject of a detailed discussion. The OECD is currently trying to get more insight into the spheres affected by the above legal resolutions. In October, its Financial Markets Committee will receive a report on our monetary policy, banking sector, and capital market, and it will review them in November. The report will be also prepared for the Insurance Committee. In addition, working groups of the Tax Committee are interested in policies regulating agreements on avoiding dual taxation, countering transfer of profits to countries with the most beneficial taxation system, and finally, the tax administration. All of these issues will probably be summed up in late January or early February 1996.

Candidates, Patriot Camp on Wilecki, Elections

WS1808135895 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 18 Aug 95 p 2

[Report by Wojciech Zaluska: "Gronkiewicz-Waltz and Strzembosz Defend Democracy; Polish Watergate?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Two presidential candidates, Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz and Adam Strzembosz, at a joint news conference yesterday, demanded that "full details" be disclosed on talks regarding putting off the presidential elections.*

"This is a Polish Watergate," said the president of the National Bank of Poland. She immediately made a correction: "Even more. In the United States it was merely an issue of eavesdropping; here we are dealing with a blow to democracy." She recalled that after the Watergate scandal President Nixon resigned from office.

"Are you suggesting that Lech Walesa do the same?" asked the reporters. "No. I am suggesting that a special commission be formed, made up of parliamentarians and representatives of the Constitutional and State Tribunals, to investigate whose idea this was, who approved it, and what price he offered for its implementation."

Coup on Liberties

In a joint statement, Gronkiewicz-Waltz and Strzembosz reminded that the Constitution does not provide for postponing the presidential elections. All talks of the issue (for example at sessions of the National Defense Committee) thus had the traits of a coup on legal order and civic liberties. The fact that state authorities (including the president and the prime minister) took part in those discussions undermines their credibility and raises doubts as to their ability to perform the top state functions.

"Backstage discussions on postponing the elections show how fragile the foundations of democracy are, but at the same time they reveal the importance of the free media, thanks to which the whole issue was brought to light," said Strzembosz. He expressed his regret that public response was "too weak." Public opinion should

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have reacted more strongly considering the fact that power was to be divided behind society's back.

Both candidates were unanimous in their criticism of General Tadeusz Wilecki, chief of the General Staff, for the speech he made during celebrations of the anniversary of the Miracle on the Vistula, in which the general accused political elites of weakening the Armed Forces. "We understand the problems the Armed Forces are facing," said Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz, "but we cannot allow the Armed Forces to get involved in politics." Strzembosz stressed that the Armed Forces should be represented by the minister of national defense, and not the chief of the General Staff.

Asked why they gave a joint news conference, the candidates said they shall continue to issue joint declarations on major issues in the future. It is worth remembering that the professor recently suggested to Ms. Gronkiewicz that whichever of them ranks lower in opinion polls at the end of the campaign should resign for the benefit of "the better one."

Wilecki Good, Ciosek Bad

One hour later, an opposite statement on the "Wilecki case" was issued by the rightist Independence Camp (some members of which support Gronkiewicz-Waltz for president). "I claim the general was right," Romuald Szeremietiew, chairman of the Movement for the Republic, told reporters. "Even if one may question the form of his speech, he spoke in defense of a just cause."

The Patriotic Camp called on the president to immediately dismiss Stanislaw Ciosek, Polish ambassador to Moscow, who is considered to be the author of the idea of postponing the elections. Krzysztof Krol of the Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN] attributed the authorship to the Democratic Left Alliance. He said that once the KPN wins the elections, it will once again come forth with the draft law on the restitution of the Republic of Poland. He foresees that a National Tribunal will be established to investigate the activities of former leaders of the Polish United Workers Party. Reminiscing on the celebrations of the Miracle on the Vistula, Krol said: "I particularly remember one of the banners: 'In 1920 the Bolsheviks approached Warsaw. Today they are in the government and in the Sejm. Tomorrow, they will get the Belweder. We must defend ourselves.'"

Polls Show Kwasniewski 'Still Far Ahead'

WS1808124595 Warsaw NOWA EUROPA in Polish 18 Aug 95 p 2

[Report by ASS: "No Changes in Election Opinion Polls"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Democratic Left Alliance Leader Aleksander Kwasniewski is still far ahead of other candidates in preelection opinion polls. According to the Public Opinion Research Center [CBOS], as many as 24 percent of the respondents would vote for him. Incumbent President Lech Walesa is in second place; he is supported by 13 percent. The third position is occupied by Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz, who is supported by 12 percent of the CBOS respondents. Jacek Kuron and Tadeusz Zielinski are both supported by 9 percent. Most respondents (69 percent) said they would vote.

Demoskop got similar results in its preelection opinion poll. According to this polling agency, Kwasniewski would get 30 percent of the votes; Walesa, 16 percent; and Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz, 15 percent. In the Demoskop poll, however, Kuron did slightly better than Zielinski, (He got 13 percent of the votes while Zielinski got only nine). Meanwhile, Kuron was the candidate who lost the most in comparison with Demoskop's July poll. He lost 7 percent. This polling agency predicts that the turnout in the elections will be far smaller than that forecast by CBOS—only 48 percent. Only 5 percent of the respondents declared that they would definitely not go to the polls.

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Article Proposes Bucharest as Balkan Mediator

95P20977A Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 5-6 Aug 95 p 1

[Article by Bogdan Chirieac: "Why Is Balkan Mediation of the Yugoslav Conflict Being Ignored?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] For more than three years, an ethnic-religious conflict has been going on in the former Yugoslavia. However, the latest developments could lead to an interstate war. Some 100,000 perfectly outfitted Croat soldiers are ready to attack some 50,000 embittered Serbs in Krajina, an autonomous territory in Croatia. Serbia announced that it would not intervene as long as the civilian population is not in danger. And, since this is almost inevitable, the outbreak of an open war between the two Central European states is only a matter of time. One could not imagine a worse evolution of the situation in the former Yugoslavia. It sanctions the bankruptcy of Western policy in the region.

After the fall of communism in East Europe, some questionable decisions, which promoted the outbreak of the conflict, were made in regard to the former Yugoslavia. In order to resolve the conflict, the application of solutions devised in some European capitals was persistently tried. They were perfect solutions, in theory, but impossible to put into practice. The Contact Group—the United States, Russia, France, Germany and Great Britain—proved that they were incapable of going beyond their own limits, which were set and obstinately maintained by Bonn. Thus, from the outset, the Serbs were the only ones who were condemned in this war. In an absurd manner, Croatia was always supported politically and militarily in all its actions, including the unleashing of unprovoked and useless acts of war. The peace plans obstinately called for enclaves, that is, those very areas which have given a new impulse to the war in Bosnia. In brief, despite their political will and their immense material resources, the United Nations, NATO and the European Union have proven that they are incapable of putting an end to the Yugoslav conflict.

On the eve of a war in the Balkans, a major decision is being awaited. What might it be? The instituting of an embargo against Croatia? Or perhaps the lifting of the embargo against Serbia and Montenegro? The lifting of the arms embargo for the Muslims? Massive military intervention by the West? Most likely, none of these things will take place. All that was decided was to convoke the one-hundredth last chance conference in Geneva. The truth is that, overtaken by the situation at this moment, the only desire of the West is to withdraw from Bosnia, leaving it to its fate. Only one problem remains, one which could be resolved through diplomatic channels: how to prevent Russia from establishing a bridgehead in the region. This would be a disturbing presence, with bad effects for Central Europe, not so much now as in the future, in particular.

The failure of Western policy toward the former Yugoslavia does not mean that a negotiated solution would be impossible. If the United States, for example, has not been able to propose a viable solution from a distance of 6,000 miles, and if Germany, the first European power, has not been able to put the interests of the Serbs, Croats and Muslims above its own interests, perhaps the Balkan countries, or those close to the Balkans, would be able to do more. Let us not forget that the war in the former Yugoslavia, which has not reduced one bit the standard of living of the Germans or the Americans, has had a terrible effect on the countries in the region. Hence, the sincere interest of these states in stopping the bloodshed. In this context, Romania, the largest country in the region, could play a key role. Romania has a diplomatic tradition which is impossible to ignore. Let us mention only the role played in achieving peace between Egypt and Israel, in mediating the negotiations between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization, and the key role played in the resumption of Chinese-American relations. In addition, in contrast to other capitals in the region, Bucharest has maintained good relations with all the belligerants in the conflict in the former Yugoslavia. With the participation of all the Balkan countries concerned, Bucharest has sufficient reason to become the principal negotiator in the Yugoslav conflict, rather than Budapest, which recently proposed itself, with insolence, appearing to forget the role it played in supplying weapons to Croatia. In conclusion, the war in the former Yugoslavia is a war in the Balkans and a Balkan solution would be the most natural one.

Reserve Soldiers Called Up in Cluj-Napoca

LD1808202495 Budapest Duna TV in Hungarian 1600 GMT 18 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The call-up of reserve soldiers has been ordered in Cluj-Napoca [Kolozsvar]. This information was given out by the Romanian Army in a brief communique.

[Correspondent Tibor Bogdan, reporting by telephone] All that is known about the purpose of this measure is that it is a question of an action taking place within the framework of the reorganization and modernization of the Armed Forces. The call-up is taking place at the command of the leadership of the General Staff. Its duration is similarly unknown; the communique says in this connection merely that those who are called up will receive, for the duration of their mobilization, an amount in keeping with their wages. At the same time, the Army will requisition motor vehicles, first and

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foremost Land Rovers, container trucks, and trucks from economic units and private entrepreneurs alike.

Cluj, incidentally, is the headquarters of the 4th Transylvanian [Erdelyi] Army. General Paul Cheler, its commander, is well known for his close connection with Mayor Gheorghe Funar, and with the Romanian National Unity Party and Vatra Romaneasca association.

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Federal

Lilic Warns 'All Serb Leaders' About War

AU2008163595 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 20 Aug 95

[Speech by Zoran Lilic, president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, in Ivankovac near Cuprija on 20 August—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Words indistinct] united and in agreement we always won; when we allowed disagreements to cause a rift among us, we lost. Sadly, that is the situation today. That is why it must be finally understood that a people striving for national liberation and one that has a state-building goal must realistically assess its strength and the circumstances of the historic moment and, on the basis of this assessment conduct a uniform policy. There can be no room for particular goals and interests on the road to realizing a great and common goal. Such luxury must be left aside to await better times, times of peace and prosperity, for a parliamentary [word indistinct].

In the struggle for a nation's biological survival, all of the people's forces have to be directed toward this goal. Today, in full view of the entire international community, the Croatian army has struck the Serb people in the Krajina with full force, fully sponsored and wholeheartedly supported by two great world powers. This has put the Serbian population into a very difficult position. However, we must stress that the position, although difficult, was not hopeless. Even in the most difficult moments, the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] had all of the prerequisites for militarily defending itself. Despite the well-known bias present from the beginning of the crisis on the territory of the former Yugoslavia and frequent confirmation of an unwillingness to find a just solution to the Serb issue, the Krajina leadership had the chance to save the people from disaster. Instead of strong resistance by the Serb Krajina Army, a suicidal decision was made: retreat without a struggle, a retreat incomprehensible for all of us.

Endless columns of unfortunate people heading toward Serbia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] are a direct consequence of the unreasonable and uncooperative way of conducting national policy. Immense sacrifices, loss of the RSK western territories, a massive exodus of the Serb people, and continuing bloodshed are obviously [words indistinct]. The leadership, their advisers, and all Serb leaders must understand that there is nothing more important than the fate of the people. Had all national forces been invested into a rational, disciplined, and organized defense of the RSK—which enjoyed constant and I can openly say four-year support and help from the FRY—with this goal in mind, the military and political outcome would have been quite different. All of the responsibility for this outcome lies with those who were incapable of assessing what could be achieved through a just liberation war and what through peaceful diplomacy.

Whenever this was pointed out to them, they refused to listen to the voice of reason. At a time when the realization of the goals of their just struggle was at hand, they put the entire Serb nation into an unenviable position by rejecting the international community's plans. Acceptance of the peace plans and initiatives proposed by the international community would have long brought peace to the Serb people on the territory of the former Yugoslavia. And, in peace, all problems and disagreements would have been solved much more easily and fairly. This is not about [words indistinct] who was right, nor is it about scoring minor points on the political scene. This is about the greatest possible legacy of a people—their destiny.

It is also a fact that we continuously warned that, if they failed to accept the proposed peace plan, they would later be forced to accept a much worse solution. Yet they were deaf to all of our warnings—at the time and later. Unfortunately, we were right; today we have before our eyes the consequences of a lust for power and unreasonable insistence on the war option: several thousand dead, wounded, captured, and missing persons, and hundreds of thousands of refugees. These were all unnecessary sacrifices because conditions had already been created for solving the remaining controversial issues through negotiations.

That is why the only possible message to all leaders of the Serb people is this: a unified front in the struggle for peace and our people's prosperity in the struggle for survival. The latest events in the RSK and the Serb Republic [RS] have fully demonstrated the perils inherent in political adventurism, which the FRY will not succumb to under any circumstances, not because we do not have the strength to wage a war but because we only defend the right to a liberation war and the right to use all available means to defend only our territories. That is why we supported and—I will say it—aided the just struggle of the Serb people in the RS and the RSK. Once the war goals had been realized, when there was no more sense in wasting human lives, we insisted on a political solution. Unfortunately, the people who at the time bore—and those who bear it today—the historic responsibility to understand the FRY's intentions, chose war as the option for a possible and definite solution to the Serb issue outside the territory of the FRY.

Yet, when it won the war almost without firing a single bullet, the RSK capitulated, and all of the people were

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forced into exile. That is why the FRY will not allow itself to be drawn into the war; that is the wish of many of our enemies and their efforts to introduce a rift among our people, and thus annul all of our hitherto victories in defending our freedom and our people's historic rights. A responsible country goes to war only in the case of direct danger to its independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, and constitutional order. You can be sure that the FRY would resist a possible aggressor with all available means. There can be no dilemma about this, nor is it advisable for anyone to test our resolve.

We demand that the international community sharply condemn the brutal aggression against the RSK, territory under UN protection, and put a stop to Croatia's aggressive behavior, which represents the greatest danger not only to the peace process, but also to the peace and stability of the entire region. [passage omitted]

In the interest of peace, the international organization must abandon its policy of double standards if is to extinguish the dangerous hot spots in the Balkans. We expect the UN Security Council to condemn Croatia for crimes against the civilian population, ethnic cleansing, and violation of elementary human rights that was carried out during the aggression on the RSK. Double standards can only lead to anarchy in international relations; we must not forget that, historically, great disagreements in international relations have always culminated in great wars.

Citizens of Cuprija and the Morava River basin, I particularly wish to stress on this occasion that the FRY is a democratic country in which all of its citizens are equal and in which they feel safe and secure; that is the way it is going to stay. The relevant bodies will resolutely implement their legal authority in all cases of attempted harassment of each and every FRY citizen, irrespective of his or her nationality or religion. I wish to repeat once again at these magnificent festivities that there is no task more important for us than the maintenance of peace, internal stability, and the country's economic recovery. All of our political wisdom and diplomatic skills are directed toward this goal; in the future, we shall continue to support all initiatives aimed at finding new and acceptable peace solutions proposed by the international community. We are doing this because we deeply believe that the peaceful way is the only way to end the war and the crisis. However, we must say, and say it here today, that there is a limit that cannot and must not be exceeded. Our consistent and stable peace policy gives us the moral right to demand complete and unconditional lifting of sanctions whose adverse effects are also felt by other Balkan countries.

In the same way, the latest grave events have given us the right to insist even more on the stance that a lasting and just solution to the crisis in the former Yugoslavia cannot be achieved through military, but exclusively peaceful means, with equal respect for the rights of all sides in the conflict. That is the only sure way to extinguish one of the greatest hot spots in postwar Europe, which is threatening to spread beyond the Balkan territories. By not acknowledging and adequately rewarding the FRY's peaceful policy, Europe risks being engulfed in the flames of its own irrational behavior. We must overcome the very trying times that lie ahead. We must maintain our presence of mind and our country's stability. We must primarily rely on our work and our own resources and firmly believe in our policy's ultimate victory. Yet at the same time we must be ready to defend our people and our homes with all available means should the need arise. [passage omitted]

It is our wish for peace, reason, and justice to rule the war. Injustice must not prevail over justice, and falsehood must not prevail over truth. It is our wish and our goal to build our country and our children's future in peace on the territories that have been populated by our ancestors for centuries. No one will take this right from us; we shall fight for it with all available means. I am sure you also believe this. Thank you!

Government Rejects Izetbegovic Charges on Refugees

LD1908110995 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1043 GMT 19 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Washington, Aug. 19 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Government has categorically rejected as unfounded, absurd and ill-intentioned Bosnian Muslim leader Alija Izetbegovic's accusations in connection with the settling of Serb Krajina refugees in the Raska region in southwestern Serbia.

Head of the Yugoslav U.N. mission in New York Dragomir Djokic presented a Yugoslav demarche to the U.N. Security Council president for the month of August, Indonesian Ambassador Nugroho Wisnu Murti, on Friday.

The demarche said that Izetbegovic must know that Raska was an integral part of Yugoslavia and that it was the sovereign right of every government to decide where on its territory to settle refugees.

In a letter sent to the Security Council president, Izetbegovic accused Yugoslavia of allegedly wanting forcibly to change the ethnic profile of the Raska region by sending there Serbs expelled from the Republic of Serb Krajina.

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Sandzak is a Turkish name for the administrative region, a name which dates back to the Ottoman Empire.

Croatia's aggression on the Republic of Serb Krajina, launched on Aug. 4, has led to an exodus of about 200,000 Krajina Serbs.

The Yugoslav Government said in the demarche that Izetbegovic's letter was an explicit example of interference in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia and that it reflected the real intentions of the Muslim authorities in Sarajevo.

New Foreign Minister Milutinovic Profiled

AU2008194295 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Aug 95 p 16

[Article by D.N.B.: "The Second Attempt"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The new Yugoslav minister of foreign affairs, Milan Milutinovic, has been interested in diplomacy ever since he was a young man. As a junior politician in the Yugoslav Youth Union, he was the head of the international politics section. Somewhat later, as a delegate in the Federal Assembly, he was in the Foreign Affairs Committee, a parliamentary body that had no particular significance in the life of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia at the time. Until he went to Athens, Milutinovic (born 1942) held posts that had nothing to do with diplomacy, mostly in bodies and forums of the party. Because he comes from Belgrade, from Vracar (he graduated from the secondary school and law school in Belgrade), Milutinovic first worked as the head of the (communist) party of the Belgrade municipality of Vracar, and later, after the 10-year party rule of Sasa Gligorijevic over Belgrade, he became a member of the City Committee. According to the words of some of his colleagues from that time, he was rigid in his work but also hard-working and devoted.

The next important step in his career was the post of minister of education. Rightly or not, it remained in the records that he was the formal executor of the famous act of the expulsion from teaching of eight professors of the Philosophy Faculty (S. Stojanovic, M. Markovic, Lj. Tadic, D. Micunovic, etc.).

For a certain period after his ministerial mandate, Milutinovic was in a "political vacuum," and then he experienced a certain comedown: He became the director of the National Library of Serbia, a post that, as could be heard, did not particularly satisfy him. He believed that he had been given that post, in a way, as a "punishment." The appearance of Slobodan Milosevic at the head of the Central Committee of Serbia brought Milutinovic back on the political scene. First he came to the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and from there he went to Athens. The post of ambassador was for Milutinovic, a party apparatchik, a sort of "dream of his career." However, now he has lived to become something much bigger than that, namely, to stand at the head of Yugoslav diplomacy. Well-informed circles announced his appointment as early as half a year ago, but it is not clear what stood in the way of this change.

This is Milutinovic's second attempt to come to this post in Kontic's government. Two years ago, as Kontic was forming his government, Milosevic proposed him, as a man of his confidence, for foreign minister, but Dobrica Cosic, at the time president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, was decidedly against it. In fact, rumors said that the main obstruction to his appointment was Cosic's first adviser, Professor Svetozar Stojanovic, one of the eight removed professors of the Philosophy Faculty.

As first guesses were made, well-informed circles said that Milutinovic would be replaced in Athens by Zoran Janackovic, head of the security sector in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Both the former minister Jovanovic and Milutinovic, just like Janackovic, are people of Slobodan Milosevic's greatest confidence. Therefore, it is not easy to understand the full meaning of this change at the head of Yugoslav diplomacy. No political turns are probable. Milosevic simply needs to have a new face for international contacts, with the conviction that that is enough.

[Box, p 16]

New Head of Yugoslav Diplomacy, Milan Milutinovic

Belgrade, TANJUG— The federal government yesterday appointed Milan Milutinovic, until now ambassador of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in Athens, as a new member of the government and minister of foreign affairs of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The government proposed to the president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Zoran Lilic, that former Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic be appointed as the head of the mission—ambassador of Yugoslavia to the United Nations.

Army Sees Croatian, Albanian Borders as Trouble Spots

LD2008121695 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1135 GMT 20 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Aug 20 (TANJUG)—The number of border incidents in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has been on the

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decrease in the past two years, a senior army official told TANJUG on Sunday.

Colonel Tihomir Stojanovic of the Yugoslav Army general staff said the border belt was still most seriously jeopardized by Croatia and Albania.

Last year, a total of 149 border incidents, or 97 per cent down from the year earlier, were registered, Stojanovic said.

He specified that in the first six months of this year there were 17 incidents in the border regions, most of which caused by the armed forces of Croatia and Albania.

Stojanovic stressed that the situation was most serious on the border with the Republic of Croatia, saying that in the first half of this year Croatian troops six times opened fire on Yugoslav border guards, while an attempt at smuggling a seven-member group of saboteurs was also registered.

He said the situation on the border with Croatia has deteriorated in the past few days.

In the same period, submarines three times violated Yugoslav territorial waters. They were detected a few miles within these waters but their origin was not determined, he said.

NATO planes have violated Yugoslav air space two times, while helicopters of the U.N. force (UNPREDEP) [UN Preventive Deployment Force] stationed in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM) violated this space 24 times.

Stojanovic said that government agreements, signed with Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria and Albania, provide for averting and resolving border incidents. He maintained that the number and type of incidents depended on the readiness of these countries to observe agreement provisions.

He said that despite the agreement, on the border with Albania incidents were frequent. There, he said, an attack with hand grenades on Yugoslav border guards accounted for the most serious incident this year.

"Yugoslavia fully implements all the provisions in these agreements, wanting to build up good relations with neighbours. These relations begin on the border and our country rightly demands that the other side shall observe and implement what has been agreed," Stojanovic pointed out.

Serbia

Milosevic Comments on Talks With U.S. Delegation

AU1708161295 Paris AFP in English 1556 GMT 17 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Belgrade, Aug 17 (AFP)—Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Richard Holbrooke emerged from over five hours of talks here Thursday with no decision on a settlement to the crisis in Bosnia.

The Serbian president broke off the discussions for an urgent appointment with the visiting EU negotiator Carl Bildt.

The talks between the U.S. delegation and Serbian leaders are due to resume Friday.

"We share the view that this problem needs an urgent solution," Milosevic said.

"We are firmly convinced that the only possible solution to the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina is to protect equally all the three nations in Bosnia. The whole discussion took place with that in mind," he added. [passage omitted]

President Milosevic Receives Carl Bildt

LD1708181795 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1740 GMT 17 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 17 Aug (TANJUG)—Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic has received Carl Bildt, the cochairman of the International Conference on Former Yugoslavia, who arrived in Belgrade this afternoon.

The talks between President Milosevic and Carl Bildt will consider issues on how to create conditions to revive the peace process and implement a peace plan, a statement issued by the president's office says.

Milosevic Praises Bildt

LD1808162095 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1501 GMT 18 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 18 Aug (TANJUG)—Slobodan Milosevic, the president of the Republic of Serbia, has received Spanish Foreign Minister Javier Solana, the president of the EU Council of Ministers, who, with his aides, arrived in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia today.

During the course of lengthy and cordial talks, Minister Solana wanted to find out more about Yugoslavia's views and was briefed about its stands regarding the best way to end the Yugoslav crisis by political means and to ensure a successful outcome of the peace process.

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President Milosevic expressed satisfaction with the fact that, through his unbiased stand and a high degree of understanding of the main elements of the Yugoslav crisis, Carl Bildt, European envoy for former Yugoslavia, fully agreed with the Yugoslav side about the key elements contained in the proposed international peace package.

In connection with this, it was also concluded that a biased approach was the key factor why the final political solution to the crisis was long coming and that, hence, the most efficient way to end the crisis was for the international community to treat equally and objectively all players in the Yugoslav crisis.

The FRY expects Spain, as a country that has so far had an objective attitude toward the crisis in the territory of the former Yugoslavia, to take advantage of its presidency of the European Union and make the greatest possible contribution toward halting the escalation of the armed clashes in the territory of the former Yugoslavia.

In this context, it is of paramount importance that the European Union should take a resolute stance in favor of an immediate cessation of all hostilities and demonstrate in practice, by adopting an unbiased attitude and taking effective measures, its adherence to the principles of equality between states and peoples, the respect of human rights, and the protection of legitimate interests of all nations.

On its behalf, the FRY will continue pursuing the principled policy of peace and contributing as much as possible to a speedy stabilization of relations in the Balkans, in the belief that the international community will understand and appreciate the importance of lifting the economic blockade of the FRY for the process of establishing a lasting peace and preventing further delays in finding a political solution to the crisis.

Yugoslav Foreign Minister Milan Milutinovic also took part in the talks.

Official Asks for Relief From Refugee Burden

AU2008192495 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Aug 95 p 6

[Article by "Lj.B.": "Refugees Changed the Ethnic Structure of Northern Backa"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Subotica—The president of the municipal assembly of Subotica, a delegate in the Serbian Parliament, Jozef Kasa, yesterday addressed an open letter to the prime minister of the republic, Mirko Marjanovic. The letter said:

"We are deeply aware of the tragic position of several hundred thousand people, most of whom were forced to leave their homes through no fault of their own. We are also aware how big the burden of providing for these people is, in the conditions in which the Republic of Serbia today finds itself. The Subotica municipality has always been and still is ready to give maximum help to people in distress, and we will do that even beyond our potential. However, it is my duty to point out the fact that, besides the 2,000 refugees that have been received now, in the period from 1990 to 1994 nearly 10,000 inhabitants, mostly from the areas where war goes on, came to the Subotica municipality, so that the ethnic structure of the population has to a great degree been changed, because it should also be kept in mind that in the same period over 10,000 Hungarians and Croats left this region.

"The people of Subotica are anxious and fear for their future, particularly after the unwelcome events in western Backa, and I must say that such cases have already occurred in our area as well. The letter of the Government of the Republic of Serbia dated 14 August 1995, signed by A. Milosavljevic, which orders the registration of momentarily uninhabited apartments and houses, causes anxiety and tension. This letter directly negates the promises and statements of the competent persons about the inviolability of private property and the safety of our citizens."

In his letter, Kasa reminds Prime Minister Marjanovic of what he said when he visited Subotica, namely that for him it was "important for the population of northern Backa to be satisfied and for this region not to suffer any disturbances of any sort," and he voices an appeal "for the enormous burdening of Subotica with refugees to be urgently stopped; for any registration of uninhabited apartments and houses to be stopped: for the inviolability of private property and safety of our citizens to be guaranteed. I am convinced," he says at the end of his letter, "that you will understand and interpret my appeal in the right way."

Police Beat Refugees Fleeing Kosovo-Bound Train

AU2008154595 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 18 Aug 95 p 5

[Article by Z. Radovanovic: "They Stopped the Train Because They Do Not Wish To Go to Kosovo"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Kragujevac—On the afternoon of 16 August, in the immediate vicinity of the railroad station in the Kragujevac suburb of Grosnica, a serious incident occurred involving Krajina refugees. According to the testimony of numerous eyewitnesses, a train traveling via Kragujevac and Kraljevo to Kosovo suddenly stopped on the railroad tracks in Grosnica. There is founded suspicion that the train was stopped by refugees who used the hand brake. Immediately after the train

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stopped, a group of refugees jumped off and started running. They were followed, eyewitnesses say, by the police officers accompanying the train. These were shortly joined by local policemen, so that the "most unruly" unfortunate Krajina refugees ended up being beaten.

On Monday, those who refused to go to the southern Serbian province were accommodated in the Kragujevac Jezero sports hall, while some of them were taken to the Sumadija town of Knic. The local [refugee] headquarters yesterday issued an appeal to citizens asking for beds, clothing, shoes, baby food, and other goods for some 2,000 refugees in Kragujevac.

At the same time, an intense search is on here for free housing space in Kragujevac districts and surrounding villages so the schools that have been turned into reception centers can be vacated in time for the new school year.

Comment: U.S. Concern Over Refugees Hypocritical

AU1908205795 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Aug 95 p 6

[Commentary by N. Burzan: "The Hypocritical Worries"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The exodus of Krajina refugees and the humanitarian catastrophe that accompanies it have provoked pity, sympathy, and even protest and bitterness in most countries of the civilized world. Many of them sent humanitarian aid, many disapproved of this, up to now, biggest wave of cleansing on Yugo-territories performed by Croatian authorities.

There are, however, those who steered their "worries" in a completely different direction. They do not care about the sufferings of approximately 100,000 Serb refugees; they are "very worried" that a part of that sad convoy is moving in the direction of—Kosovo. They say Milosevic has gotten a "demographic weapon" and started the "Serbization of Kosovo."

Official Washington explains its "worries" with the claim that Belgrade now wishes to "colonize" Kosovo and thus change the demographic structure in this region. If we could even understand the fears of our neighbors—Albania, Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], and Greece—because of a possible spread of war, the "worries" of the Americans are pure hypocrisy.

And not only that: The American "worries" are a direct intrusion into Serbian internal affairs or those of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Because, they too—not only we—pompously stated more than once that Kosovo was the internal affair of Serbia or the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Washington was not "worried" at all when, 10 or 15 years ago, Serbs fled Kosovo en masse, really changing the demographic structure of this region. They are also not "worried" now, when, through the ethnic cleansing of Serbs from western Slavonia and Krajina, the demographic structure of Croatia has also been changed, to such a degree that not even 8 percent are Serbs—which is the percentage needed, according to the Croatian Constitution, to ensure them the status of a national minority. They are not "worried" about the horrifying statement of Mate Granic that he hopes 99 percent of Serbs will leave Croatia. That statement in itself is enough to get him an invitation to The Hague.

It is a sad fact that the most powerful country in the world has up to now not given one dollar to Serb refugees and that, instead of coming to help, it, in an arrogant and dishonorable way, politicizes one big national tragedy. If Washington is that worried about keeping the 90 percent Albanian majority in Kosovo, why did it not offer its hospitality to the Serb refugees who wanted to go there [sentence as published]? That would have been the right thing to do.

Because it did not, neither it nor anybody else has absolutely any right to "direct" the movement of Serb refugees in the Serbian country.

Kosovo

Rugova: Belgrade Must Stop Settling Krajina Refugees

AU2008153295 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1635 GMT 18 Aug 95

[Telephone report by Mehmet Haziri from Prishtina on news conference by "president of the Republic of Kosovo" Dr. Ibrahim Rugova given in Prishtina on 18 August]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Serbian campaign to settle Serb refugees from Croatia to Kosovo is the most grave provocation done to Kosovo and Albanians, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, president of the Republic of Kosovo, stressed at his regular news conference.

Rugova urgently demanded that the settlement of the Serbian colonists be stopped and assessed that the Belgrade regime is implementing the old maps between the two world wars to colonize Kosovo and change its ethnic composition. Alongside the daily police violence, a democratic violence has started to be perpetrated in Kosovo. That is why the violent settling of the Serbian refugees from Knin to Kosovo is not a humanitarian

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issue, as the Serbian press and government officials are attempting to manipulate, Rugova said.

Rugova greeted the U.S. official reactions and the reasonable concerns of Greece, Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], and various international institutions regarding the danger that settling Serbian refugees in Kosovo presents for the destabilization of the situation in the region.

Dr. Rugova appraised Albania's demands to put an end to that hysteria of settling refugees in Kosovo and added that Albania has the right to show an interest in Kosovo. He expressed gratitude to the Western press and media for their serious commitment to objectively treating this problem, which Kosovo currently faces.

Because of the tense situation that has caused the rush of installing Serbian refugees in Albanian settlements and the daily police repression, Chairman Rugova sought international protection for Kosovo. He invited the international community to exert greater pressure on Belgrade to stop this colonization act and find a just solution to the Kosovo issue, which is a key question not only for the former Yugoslavia but also for the whole region. This time, as well, Rugova reminded the international community that the most optimal and fair solution would be an independent and neutral Kosovo, open to Albania and Serbia.

Within the context of the efforts to find a global solution to the crisis in the former Yugoslav area, Chairman Rugova asked that if an international conference is held, the legitimate leaders of all former Yugoslav federation units, of which Kosovo is a part, should participate in it.

Rugova devoted a part of his speech to the repression that is currently being perpetrated against Albanians in Kosovo. Over the past week, this repression has been characterized by police interventions in 18 communes in Kosovo, where dozens of people were mistreated, and by staged political trials against Albanians in Prizren and Gjilan [Gnjilane]. Rugova demanded that Belgrade stop these trials and release all Albanian political prisoners, including Magistrate Ukshin Hoti, chairman of the National Unity Party of Kosovo.

Dr. Rugova also answered many questions by the large number of reporters at the conference.

Bukoshi: Albanians Need To Defend Themselves

AU1908175895 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1635 GMT 19 Aug 95

[Report by Bujar Muharremi]

[FBIS Translated Text] Yesaterday evening, Prime Minister of the Republic of Kosovo Dr. Bujar Bukoshi was invited to the studio of the German television station Deutsche Welle.

Asked about his news conference and his statements that the Albanians of Kosovo would have to defend themselves, Prime Minister Bukoshi responded that the West should undertake such measures to stop the further worsening of the situation in Kosovo.

Regarding the problem of sending Serbian refugees, Dr. Bukoshi stressed that their settlement in Kosovo is a provocation by the Serbian regime in Belgrade. The tragedy of Serbs in Krajina, which was aimed at reaching political aims there, seeks to be currently instrumentalized in other directions.

Answering a question on the outcome of placing Kosovo under international protectorate, Bukoshi stated that we are expecting the international community to take action. Albanians have no other way; they have nothing to choose. This should be done as long as it is not too late. We insist on this. Albanians need to defend themselves.

Regarding the prospect of resolving problems in the region, Dr. Bukoshi said it is difficult for the conflict and the peace in the Balkans to have a final solution, as long as Albanians in Kosovo were not granted their legitimate rights.

Albanians Protest Settling of Serb Refugees

AU1908173795 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1635 GMT 18 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Leaders and functionaries of Albanian political parties in Kosovo have expressed their views regarding the settlement of Serbian refugees in Kosovo. Here is a summary of their views by our correspondent Ramadan Mucolli from Prishtina:

[Mucolli] The Kosova Information Center made public some opinions from leaders of several Albanian political parties and associations regarding the violent settlement of Serb refugees from Croatia to Kosovo. All without exception assess that the campaign of settling refugees in Kosovo is a premeditated act by the Serbian regime, which intends to colonize Kosovo and change its ethnic composition.

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Hydajet Hyseni, deputy chairman of the Democratic League of Kosova, states that the violent settlement of the Serbian refugees in Kosovo has rightly concerned all Albanians, and not only them. He assesses that here it is not a question of a humanitarian issue, but a flagrant misuse of the refugees' misfortune, something the Serbian regime exploits to perpetrate its ethnic cleansing policy and to Serbianize Kosovo.

Kosovar Parliamentary Party Chairman Bajram Kosumi assesses that this act by Serbia makes the situation in Kosovo and the Balkans more tense, which may escalate to a war. Kosumi estimates that, with these acts, Belgrade shows that it has not abandoned its militarist and colonial policy, despite its verbal declaration.

Tadeo Rudiqi, deputy chairman of the Albanian Christian Democratic Party of Kosova, considered the violent settlement of the Serbian refugees in Kosovo a direct provocation for Albanians in Kosovo. On this occasion, he recalled that Kosovo was and remained the most undeveloped country in the former Yugoslav area.

Meanwhile, Albanian National Democratic Party Chairman Rexhep Abdullahu said that Serbia is intensifying the colonist relations at a time when, all around the world, the process of colonization is over.

Kosovar Liberal Party Chairman Gjergj Deda considered the latest colonization of Kosovo an act with great consequences, which diminishes chances for reaching a peaceful solution to the Kosovo issue.

Ramadan Bunjaku, secretary general of the Kosovar National Unity Party, maintains that we cannot treat as refugees those to whom the current Serbian power first guarantees land, bread, and title deeds.

Arber Xhaferri, chairman of the Party for Democratic Prosperity of Albanians in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], warned that the colonization of Kosovo is part of a Serbian long-term expansionist project. However, he expressed optimism, adding that this project will not be realized and will fail like the other projects of the Serbian Government and institutions.

Other activists who were interviewed also considered the violent settling of refugees in Kosovo to be a colonist act.

Serb Data on Refugee Numbers 'Contradictory'

AU1808181695 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT in English 17 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The information provided by the Serbian media on the number of Serbian refugees from Croatia brought to Kosova are contradictory. Although the Serbian press few days ago asserted that some 2,000 Serbian refugees were sheltered in Kosova, the so-called "crisis team" in Kosova presented different figures. They said yesterday that 1,600 refugees reached Kosova so far. The Serbian mass media have been reporting of wide-scale preparations being carried out to provide the Serb settlers with accommodation and other benefactions.

Some Serb arrivals in Gjilan [Gnjilane] will be provided employment at the medical center in the town, while all the employees of this center had to allocate one-day earnings each to Serb refugees. The Prishtina-based [Pristina] transportation company said it will give jobs to 10 drivers and each of them will initially be given 5,000 dinars (approximately to !0 monthly salaries).

There is an impression though that most of Serb refugees have been settled in purely Albanian towns and villages or in those where Albanians make up the overwhelming majority of the population. In Zubin Potok, the only Kosova municipality with Shrepce, where Serbs outnumber Albanian population, so far only one Serb family was settled. The municipal authorities had earlier said that accommodation for 60 families in the town had been granted.

Serb Refugees 'Refuse To Settle' in Province

AU1808181795 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT in English 17 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Serbian opposition paper NASA BORBA reported yesterday that most Serbian refugees from Croatia and Bosnia refuse to settle in Kosova. On Tuesday [15 August] evening, says the paper, an incident occurred at Kragujevc train station. A group of Serbian refugees assigned to be sent to Kosova refused to travel. In protest, a number of them lied across the railway. The paper says that the police intervened against them.

International media reported Wednesday evening of similar incident having occurred in Smedereva. Latest reports coming from the Fushe Kosova railway station say that a train with Serb refugees on board has been stationed there for hours. Serb refuges have been reportedly refusing to get off the train. Some were quoted as saying that they were told they would sent to Kraljevo (Serbia). Some say they did not even know where they have actually arrived.

Refugees Reportedly in Gnjilane, Dakovica, Prizren

AU1808162895 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT in English 17 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Gjilan [Gnjilane]—"The new guests" arriving in Gjilan over the last two days are

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being distinguished as new Serbian colonists by the Albanian political parties and residents in this town, LDK [The Democratic League of Kosova] sources reported yesterday afternoon. The Serb refugees from Croatia are being stationed at the town Sports Hall at first and from there they are distributed to the student dormitory, the old premises of "Gosha" Factory, the city kindergarten, and the premise of "Thimi Mitko" Primary School. Sources say that it is estimated that some 500 Serb refugees reached Gjilan during the last two days. The report says that four Albanian families in Zhegr, who dwell properties of the county, were told by Serbian-installed county officer, Momcilo Mihajlovic, to free the apartments as soon as possible. They were told that Serb refugees would move in instead. Serb refugees were also settled in Viti [Vitina] and Kamenice [Kamenica] but the exact number of them is not known. The arrival of Serbian refugees from Croatia and Bosnia to this region has risen the tensions enormously among Albanian population. They say, "these are the people who not long ago had expelled Croats and Bosnians from their homes."

Gjakove [Dakovica]—Last evening, five buses with Serb refugees from Croatia reached Gjakove, LDK Information Commission in Gjakove reported. Some 110 of them were lodged at the secondary school dormitory in town. Gjakove is a southernmost town bordering Kosova and Albania and 99 percent of the population are ethnic Albanians. Sources in Gjakove reported yesterday that two Serbian refugee families that reached Gjakove yesterday morning were sheltered in "Pashtriku" Hotel.

Prizren—Over the last few days, a large number of Serbian refugees from Croatia reached Prizren on trains, today's BUJKU reports. They were sheltered at the student dormitories in town and Zhupe e Sreckse village. The reporter says that some of the youth who arrived in Prizren with the refugees said they were from Slunj, Bania, Kordun, Lika and Northern Dalmatia. They told the reporter when they got on trains they thought they were travelling to Nis (Serbia) but ended up in Kosova. As soon as the Serbian refugees arrived in this town, the Serbian so-called fiscal police went to every butcher in town and collected 50 kilos of fresh meat for the refugees, they told the butchers "it was an act of solidarity with the Serb refugees." Based on the statements delivered by the Serb installed authorities, some 2,000 refugees are expected to settle in Prizren. They will first be lodged at "Vllaznimi" Hotel in Landovice, at the kindergarten, and the schools in town.

Serb Refugees To Get Land for 'Permanent Use'

AU1808192595 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT in English 17 Aug 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The chairman of the so-called "crisis team" for the settlement of the Serb refugees in Kosova, Milos Nesovic, in a press conference held yesterday in Prishtina [Pristina] is quoted as saying that: "There is plenty of 'state land' in Kosova for the Serb refugees who wish to work here, temporarily or permanently." According to Nesovic, Serbia would give "guarantees" that the private property of the Albanians and other nationalities would not be jeopardized. Although most of the Serbian refugees from Croatia have been refusing to be settled in Kosova and they have been exposed to great pressure often by the police in order to accept settling in Kosova, Nesovic said that "we will not constrain anyone to come here." His statement has been constantly brought by the Serbian TV alongside with interviews with refugees as soon as reaching Fushe Kosova (Prishtina) train station. Nesovic alleged yesterday that "Kosova offers best conditions for the settlement of refugees. There is enough room for accommodation and there is also some 6,000 hectares of uncultivated state-owned land which may be given to the refugees for permanent use." Everybody knows the fact that there are not any "free capacities" in Kosova as alleged by Nesovic. Schools and the dormitories, places from where the Albanians were expelled not long ago, kindergartens and medical centers, cannot be referred to as free space. As for the uncultivated "state" land, Nesovic has been referring to, he must be reminded that the land which during the socialist regime was forcibly expropriated by cooperatives, and is run by Serb installed authorities nowadays, was the land of the local Albanian residents, who, in order to secure a job had voluntarily, or sometime even by force, decided to join cooperatives with all their wealth. Since the introduction of the so-called emergency measures (coercive administration) in all Kosova economy, including cooperatives, these small agricultural enterprises ceased its activities and the Albanian workers were sent home. Serbs apparently could not uproot the land to Serbia as they did with factories and other movable property in order to "guard" it from the Albanians! Serbian proclamations of the so-called "state" land, are hilarious. The land belongs to those workers who cultivated it and it can not be given to the Serb refugees. Kosova land is not to be given to Serb settlers as the Serbian regime anticipates in order to colonize and Serbianize Kosova. In spite of Belgrade regime allegations that they have no plans to colonize Kosova, Nesovic and his gang should be reminded of the notorious decree approved in January this year by the Serbian Parliament which heralds the

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settlement of 100,000 Serbian settlers to Kosova?! The Serbian regime during the last four years has prevented the Albanian refugees to Western countries to return to their homes, threatening them with imprisonments and denial of entrance to rump Yugoslavia.

Vojvodina

Over 88,000 Serb Krajina Refugees Given Shelter

LD1908211595 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1957 GMT 19 Aug 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Novi Sad, 19 Aug (TANJUG)—More than 88,000 refugees from the Republic of Serb Krajina have found shelter in Vojvodina, the Vojvodina Red Cross announced in Novi Sad.

About 75,000 refugees are staying with relatives and friends, and approximately 13,000 people are in reception centres, the Red Cross statement notes. [passage omitted]

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